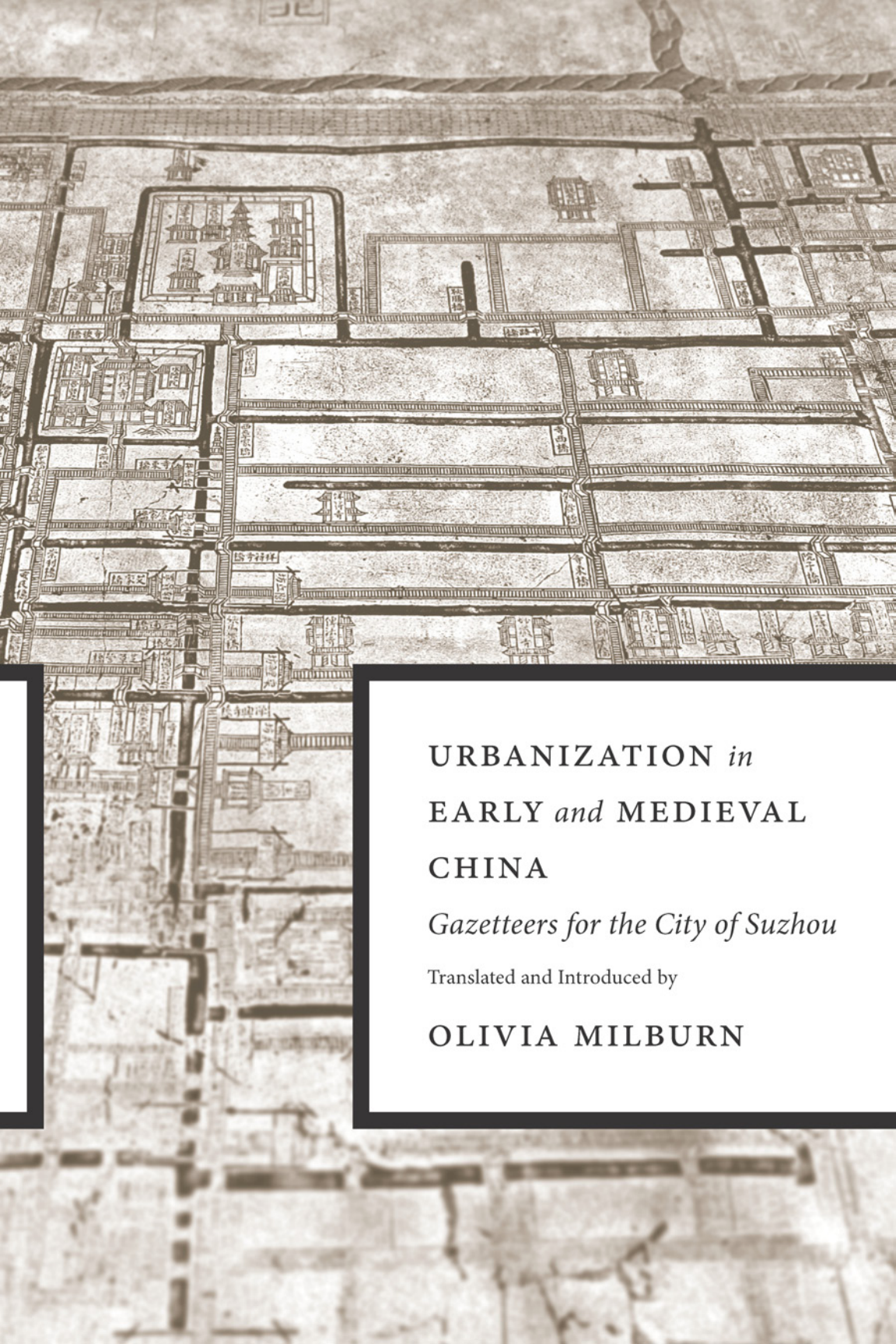




URBANIZATION *in*
EARLY *and* MEDIEVAL
CHINA

Gazetteers for the City of Suzhou

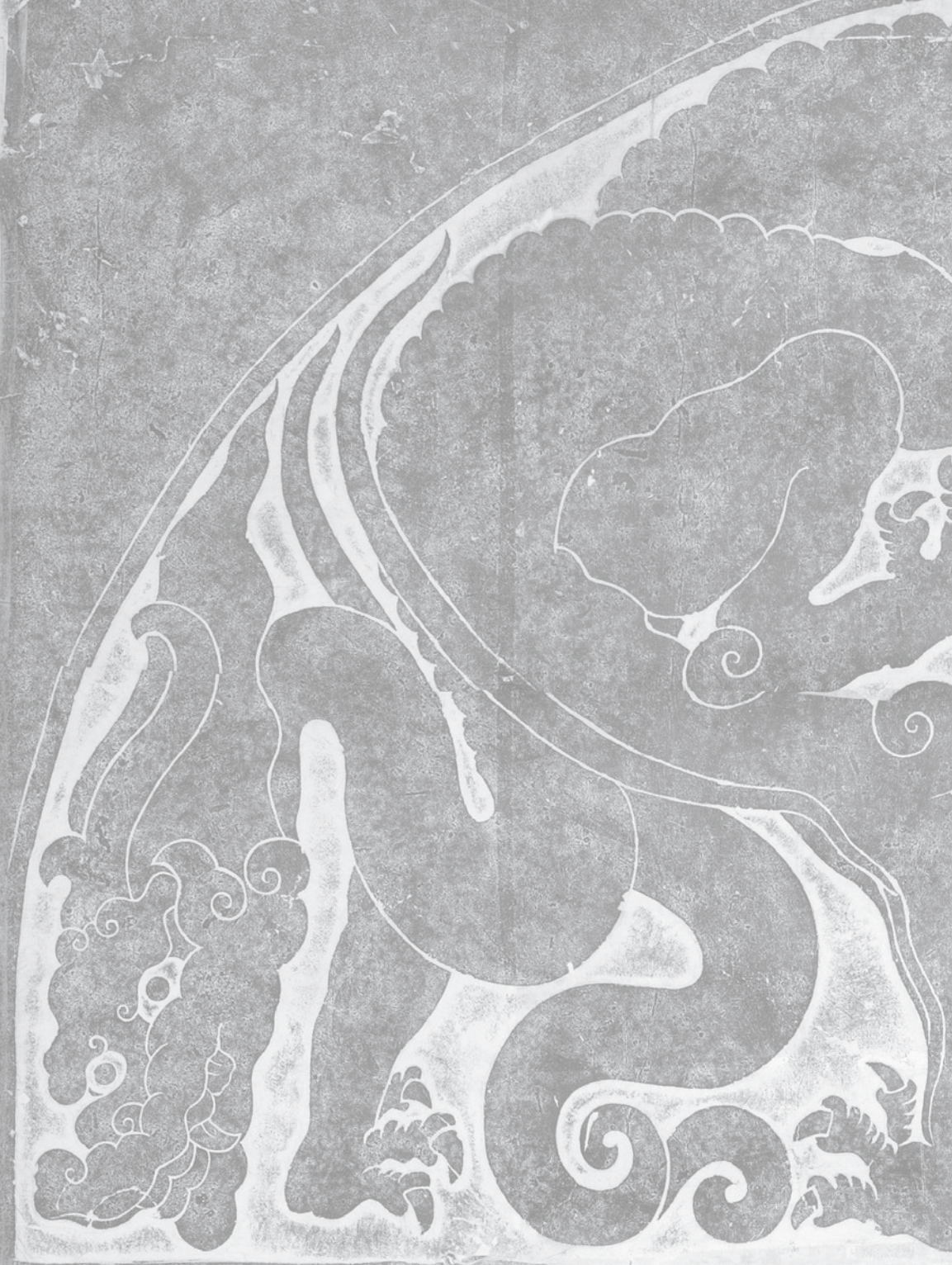
Translated and Introduced by

OLIVIA MILBURN

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URBANIZATION
IN EARLY AND
MEDIEVAL CHINA



Urbanization in Early and Medieval China

Gazetteers for the City of Suzhou

TRANSLATED AND INTRODUCED BY *Olivia Milburn*

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A Note on Nomenclature

One term will appear extremely regularly throughout the course of this book: Wu. This geographic designation was already in use before the unification of China. During the early imperial era, it continued to be used as a geographic designation referring to the city of Suzhou and the surrounding region and as a temporal term indicating the time when Wu was an independent kingdom. In order to prevent confusion, I have used this term extremely carefully. In discussions of pre-unification times, the term “Wu” refers to the ancient kingdom of Wu, inhabited by the non-Chinese Gouwu people, which was destroyed in 473 BCE. This large and powerful southern kingdom was a major player in events at the end of the Spring and Autumn period. In this book, therefore, terms such as “the Wu region” refer to the territory of the ancient kingdom of Wu, rather than just the city of Suzhou and its immediate confines. In the early part of the Han dynasty “Wu” was again used as the name of an important kingdom (ruled by a senior member of the imperial family), but when this is the case, the time period will be specified so that it will be clear that “Wu” refers to the Han dynasty kingdom and not the pre-unification (that is, before 221 BCE) independent kingdom of Wu. The Three Kingdoms era state of Wu will be referred to as the Wu dynasty, an anachronistic term, but one that will serve to distinguish this era from the pre-unification era. In the Han, Tang, and Northern Song dynasties, “Wu” was used to designate the commandery in which the city of Suzhou was located. The size of these commanderies varied considerably; as the region became wealthier and more populous, the number of counties that made up Wu Commandery was periodically reduced. Over time, Wu Commandery accounted for a smaller and smaller area of modern-day Jiangsu. This being the case, each reference to Wu Commandery will include a precise dynastic affiliation.

Preface

Urbanization in Early and Medieval China consists of an annotated translation of three imperial era “gazetteers,” or *difangzhi* (literally, “records of a place”), together with interpretation and commentary. The first text is *Tales of the Lands of Wu* (Ji Wudi zhuan), which is virtually unique among surviving Han dynasty accounts of the landscape and architecture of a particular region, in this case, the ancient kingdom of Wu, located in what is now Jiangsu. The second is *Record of the Lands of Wu* (Wudi ji), compiled by Lu Guangwei (dates unknown), which probably dates to the Tang dynasty and covers a somewhat smaller geographic area. The third is *Supplementary Records to the “Illustrated Guide to Wu Commandery”* (Wujun tujing xuji), by Zhu Changwen (1039–1098), from the Northern Song dynasty. All three gazetteers focus on the city of Suzhou, which had been the capital of the pre-unification independent kingdom of Wu. These texts are also all important landmarks in the history of gazetteer writing in early imperial China. *Tales of the Lands of Wu* describes the basic layout of the city and the function and dimensions of many key buildings. This, with its companion text, *Tales of the Lands [of Yue]* (Jidi zhuan) (henceforth *Tales of the Lands of Yue*), probably survived only because it was incorporated into the *Lost Histories of Yue* (Yuejue shu). This important compilation of short texts produced during the Han dynasty concerns the history and culture of the southern kingdoms of Wu and Yue; much of the information given here can be found nowhere else. *Tales of the Lands of Wu* purports to record the development of the city up until the time of the founding of the Eastern Han dynasty; although some material about the early imperial era is indeed included, the vast majority of entries are concerned with the pre-imperial kingdoms that ruled this region. Authorship of *Tales of the Lands of Wu* is anonymous, as is the case with all the texts incorporated into the *Lost Histories of Yue*. There is good reason to suspect that *Tales of*

the Lands of Wu was the product of a number of hands over the course of many centuries.

Record of the Lands of Wu and *Supplementary Records to the “Illustrated Guide to Wu Commandery”* represent further rare survivals of early gazetteers, rendered more valuable by the fact that they all describe the same place, making it possible for the reader to trace important trends in the history, architecture, design, and development of a single city. These will be considered in detail in the final chapter. *Record of the Lands of Wu* was compiled by Lu Guangwei, an otherwise unknown local scholar from the city of Suzhou whose dates remain much disputed. This text is a rare example of a surviving Tang dynasty gazetteer and records the history of the Wu region up until the year 876. In this case, the book appears to have been compiled to commemorate the flourishing city that existed before the sack of Suzhou in that year by the forces of the rebel Wang Ying (d. 877). The story of the development of the city of Suzhou is continued in the next text, the *Supplementary Records*, which was completed in 1084. This particular text represents not only a remarkable work of literature but also a very detailed account of the infrastructure and architecture of the city of Suzhou and surrounding region written just forty years before the collapse of the Northern Song dynasty in 1127. In 1130, invading Jurchen forces sacked the city, causing enormous destruction and loss of life. Reconstruction would take many years and would be carried out in the context of the significant social and economic changes that took place in the Southern Song dynasty.¹ These events, however, lie beyond the scope of this account.

Supplementary Records to the “Illustrated Guide to Wu Commandery” was, as the name suggests, intended to complement an existing text derived from the short-lived Northern Song dynasty genre known as “illustrated guides” (*tujing*). Two such books were produced for Suzhou during this time: the *Illustrated Guide to Suzhou* (Suzhou *tujing*), also known as the *Illustrated Guide to Wu Commandery* (Wujun *tujing*), by Li Zong’e (964–1012), and the *Illustrated Guide to Wu County* (Wuxian *tujing*) by Luo Chu (dates unknown). Zhu Changwen’s work was intended to update and complement the *Illustrated Guide to Suzhou*, which the author incorporated into his compilation *Illustrated Guides to the Regions and Counties in the Xiangfu Reign Era, 1008–1016* (Xiangfu *zhouxian tujing*), in 1,566 fascicles, or *juan*, published in 1010. Unfortunately, the survival rate for illustrated guides is very poor—not a single text from the *Illustrated Guide to the Regions and Counties in the Xiangfu Reign Era* survives. This makes Zhu Changwen’s *Supple-*

mentary Records exceptionally valuable, quite apart from its significance as a very detailed account of the appearance of the city of Suzhou produced just decades before it was sacked by the Jurchen army.

The city of Suzhou may be said to have selected itself as the subject of this book. The layout and architecture of only two cities are recorded in detail in Han dynasty texts: Suzhou and Shaoxing, the capitals of the pre-unification southern kingdoms of Wu and Yue respectively. Although not the most ancient of cities within the borders of what is now China, both were of considerable antiquity; Suzhou was traditionally said to have been founded in 514 BCE and Shaoxing in 490 BCE. Both are planned cities, among the oldest such cities in the world. Likewise, both were originally intended as capital cities for independent kingdoms located at that point south of the borders of China proper. But unlike Suzhou, for which both Tang and Northern and Southern Song dynasty gazetteers recording its development survive, approximately one thousand years would pass before the *Gazetteer for Kuaiji from the Jiatai Reign Era, 1201–1204* (Jiatai Kuaiji zhi), the next gazetteer for Shaoxing, was published in 1201, during the Southern Song dynasty.² In addition to this lack of textual documentation, shortly after this gazetteer was produced, the city was totally reconstructed. In 1223, Prefect Wang Gang (dates unknown) razed the original two connected, walled enclosures that divided the city and constructed a completely new city on the same site, with significant expansions to the north and south. The new plan, which divided the rectangular city into five wards, survived until the Republican era, when the city walls were demolished as part of a modernization program.³ These two factors make Shaoxing comparatively unsuitable as the subject of a study of urbanization in early and medieval China.

The city of Suzhou holds a special place in the history of Chinese urbanization and hence has been much studied in both China and the West. Not only is Suzhou one of the world's oldest recorded planned cities, but its history is also exceptionally well recorded in later texts (despite the fact that after the fall of the kingdom of Wu in 473 BCE, the city was never to be a capital again). This allows researchers to follow the way in which this city developed over the course of the following 2,500 years. A truly vast body of modern research exists in Chinese on the architectural history of Suzhou, which would be impossible to list here. In terms of English-language publications, a number of monographs have been written on Suzhou, mostly focusing on the late imperial or early modern development of the city. These include Michael Marmé's *Suzhou: Where the Goods of All the Provinces*

Converge, Peter Carroll's *Between Heaven and Modernity: Reconstructing Suzhou, 1895–1937*, and a series of essays about Suzhou in *Cities of Jiangnan in Late Imperial China*, edited by Linda Cooke Johnson. A handful of scholars have addressed the issue of the original design and early history of the city, of which by far the most important is Yinong Xu's monograph *The Chinese City in Space and Time: The Development of Urban Form in Suzhou*. Until now, however, the early texts recording the development of Suzhou have not been available in English translation, preventing scholars who do not read Chinese from understanding the full range of information offered by these ancient resources. This book is in part intended to remedy this omission.

Although the city of Suzhou holds an important place in the history of urban design both in China and in a wider global context, it would be incorrect to view Suzhou as a “typical” Chinese city. At the time of its founding, the Wu region lay outside the borders of the Chinese world. Suzhou was originally built to be the capital of the independent non-Chinese kingdom of Wu by its very greatest monarch, King Helü (r. 514–496 BCE). Many Chinese scholars have ignored the issue of the ethnicity of the original inhabitants of the city and instead viewed it as one of the most perfect known examples of a city built according to the ancient principles of urban design recorded in the “Record of Artificers” (Kaogong ji) chapter of the *Rites of Zhou* (Zhouli), the oldest surviving text describing the “correct” layout of a Chinese city. As a result, those aspects of the original design of the city that appear to agree with these principles have tended to be extensively studied, while those suggesting non-Chinese influence have been steadily neglected. This book is intended to right the balance somewhat by adding important new archaeological discoveries and other textual evidence to the discussion and analysis. Suzhou is also a worthwhile subject for a study of this kind because it was originally built as a capital city and seems to have served this role for a maximum of perhaps one century of its recorded history. Thereafter, it was merely a provincial city, of some significance within the region but without the national prominence of many other major urban settlements. Given that Suzhou was not the capital, the constraints governing its development were somewhat different from those that pertained to other cities such as Xi'an or Luoyang, and it was not subject to radical redevelopment during imperial era, which would have obscured the original urban design.

Urbanization in Early and Medieval China consists of four main sections. The introduction presents a discussion of the Suzhou's historical background,

from the time of its founding to the end of the Northern Song dynasty. Between around 500 and 200 BCE, the non-Chinese kingdoms located south of the Yangzi River were involved in a cutthroat battle for survival that would spill into the early imperial era. Ignored by the vast majority of historians of China, these events would have a significant impact on the original design of the city of Suzhou and its early development. After the unification of China, Suzhou—although generally something of a backwater, ignored by the emperor and the senior officials in the national capital—was occasionally affected by policies implemented by the central government. Furthermore, in times of disunion, when the empire was divided into smaller kingdoms and regimes, the city of Suzhou tended to assume greater substance in the view of the government in power in the region. The important role played by some of these small, short-lived dynasties on the development of the region will be considered in detail.

The discussion of the political history of Suzhou is followed by an account of the administration of the region from the late Spring and Autumn period to the Northern Song dynasty. Over the course of these centuries, the management of Suzhou and the surrounding area changed markedly, depending on the type of regime in power. This study of administrative structures considers such issues as the amount of territory governed under the auspices of the city of Suzhou, the changing borders of the various counties and districts, the nomenclature used (in particular the shifts to Chinese from terminology derived from the local language of the Gouwu people), and so on. Discussion of the administration of the city is coupled with an analysis of the changing ethnic composition of the region, as it moved from being an independent non-Chinese kingdom, to a dependent territory of various other ancient non-Chinese states, to part of the Chinese empire. The change in the ethnic balance of the population was subsequently reflected in cultural developments that would be observed in the Wu region. From the time of the founding of Suzhou, this highly cosmopolitan city was subject to the influence of the numerous ethnic groups that lived there, and its strong cultural identity was developed from many different sources.

In her analysis of city planning in the imperial era, Nancy Steinhardt proposes ten features that represent important characteristics of traditional urban design in China. Do these characteristics also apply to Suzhou, which, after all, was constructed to be the capital of a non-Chinese kingdom? Discrepancies between “Record of Artificers” and the description of the layout of King Helü of Wu’s capital in *Tales of the Lands of Wu* suggest that the

original design of the capital of the kingdom of Wu should be interpreted according to the principles seen in other cities laid out by the non-Chinese Bai Yue (Hundred Yue) peoples in the pre-unification era. In particular, the design of Suzhou may be interpreted as a “snail city” (*luocheng*).

The three gazetteers included in this book contain a vast wealth of information about the way in which the city of Suzhou developed over the first 1,500 years of its existence. By comparing them, it is possible to see the individual focus and interests expressed by the authors of *Tales of the Lands of Wu*, *Record of the Lands of Wu*, and *Supplementary Records to the “Illustrated Guide to Wu Commandery.”* These gazetteers were not intended to be comprehensive. They do not provide a complete account of the landscape and architecture of the region that they describe, and they reflect their authors’ choice of focus and educational background. That very fact, however, has ensured that much information that an uninterested or slipshod recorder would not have included has found its place in these pages. The gazetteers produced for Suzhou in the early imperial era provide a window into the history of the development of a single Chinese city. In so doing, they allow the changes and developments that occurred over a millennium and a half to be understood in remarkable detail.

PREFACE

- 1 In spite of the death and destruction caused by the Jurchen sack of the city, Suzhou seems to have recovered relatively quickly, thanks to the arrival of significant numbers of refugees from the north. By 1184, the population stood at 173,000 households. In 1275, the population (excluding members of the clergy) stood at 329,600 households; in 1290 (again excluding the clergy) at 466,100 households. Marmé, *Suzhou*, 48–49.
- 2 Shi Su, *Jiatai Kuaiji zhi*. This impressively detailed gazetteer in twelve fascicles is one of the very few to survive from the Song dynasty and is of exceptionally high quality. It was produced under the auspices of the prefect of Shaoxing, Shen Zuobin, by a local scholar, Shi Su (*jinshi* 1134). For a discussion of the vexing issue of how to pronounce this particular place-name, see Hargett, “Guaiji? Guiji? Huiji? Kuaiji?”
- 3 Zhang Yu’an, *Shaoxing wenhua zashi*, 8–9.

Acknowledgments

I would like to begin by thanking the authorities who made it possible for me to write this book. This work was supported by the Seoul National University Foundation Research Expenses Fund, whose generous financial support made it possible to visit a number of libraries in Mainland China and Taiwan. I should also like to thank the staff of the various libraries where I carried out research for this book. These include Shanghai Library; Suzhou Library; the National Central Library, Taipei; the National Library of the People's Republic of China; Seoul National University Library; the Kyujanggak Archives, Seoul National University; Cambridge University Library; and the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies. I am also very grateful for the assistance of my graduate students at Seoul National University, with whom I discussed this book in considerable detail and revised the translation of the three gazetteers, as well as my research assistants: Melissa Chan, Min Sunyoung, and Zhan Beibei. Without their help, this book would have taken a great deal longer to produce. The translation given here of *Tales of the Land of Wu* is reprinted from my book *The Glory of Yue: An Annotated Translation of the "Yuejue shu"* (2010). The translation of the Li Bai poem in the introduction is reprinted from my "The Silent Beauty: Changing Portrayals of Xi Shi from Zhiguai and Poetry to Ming Fiction and Drama," *Asia Major (Third Series)* 26.1 (2013): 23–53.

I also would like to thank the many friends and family members who have helped me during the writing of this book. In no particular order, other than alphabetical, they are Oliver Chan, Desmond Cheung, my former supervisor Bernhard Fuehrer, Luke Hambleton, Huang Lan-yin, Jo Jungeun, Kim Bokyoung, Liu Yue, Shih Ching-fei, Tan Tian Yuan, Marcus White, and Yan Zinan. While writing this book, I was also working on another translation project. As it was impossible to thank Liu Yunlong then, this book is dedicated to him.

Chronology of Chinese Dynasties

Shang	.ca. 1600–ca. 1046 BCE
Zhou.	.ca. 1046–221 BCE
Western Zhou	.ca. 1046–771 BCE
Eastern Zhou.	.771–221 BCE
Spring and Autumn period.	.771–475 BCE
Warring States era	.475–221 BCE
Qin.	221–206 BCE
Han	206 BCE–220 CE
Western Han	206 BCE–6 CE
Xin (Wang Mang interregnum)	.6–24
Eastern Han	.25–220
Age of Disunion	.220–589
Three Kingdoms period.	.220–265
Wei	.220–265
Shu.	.220–265
Wu.	.222–280
Jin	.265–317
Northern Dynasties	.386–581
Northern Liang	.389–439
Northern Wei	.386–535
Eastern Wei.	.534–550
Western Wei	.535–570
Northern Qi	.550–577
Northern Zhou.	.557–581
Southern Dynasties	.317–589
Eastern Jin	.317–420
Song (Liu-Song)	.420–479
Southern Qi	.479–502

Liang	502–557
Chen.	557–589
Sui	589–618
Tang.	618–907
Liao	916–1125
Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms.	907–960
Song	960–1279
Northern Song	960–1127
Southern Song	1127–1279
Jin	1115–1234
Yuan.	1260–1368
Ming.	1368–1644
Qing.	1644–1911
Republican era	1912–1949

URBANIZATION
IN EARLY AND
MEDIEVAL CHINA

Introduction

THE gazetteer, or *difangzhi*, is a genre of literature that is not unique to China but has the longest history and the most complex development there. The word *difangzhi* was coined from a phrase derived from a classical text, the *Rites of Zhou*: *sifang zhi zhi*, or “records of the four directions.”¹ In spite of the universal scope claimed by the *Rites of Zhou*, gazetteers were limited in focus at a very early stage; they describe the geography and history of a single specified area. During the imperial era, a wide variety of different types of gazetteer were produced. There are *tongzhi*, which describe an entire province, while *fuzhi* record prefectures, *zhouzhi* record departments, and *xianzhi* describe counties. Gazetteers were also produced with a significantly narrower focus: *simiaozhi* record the history and architecture of temples, and *shanshuizhi* record individual mountains and rivers. In fact, the umbrella term *difangzhi* was developed relatively late in the history of this complex genre; early gazetteers do not usually feature the word *zhi* in their titles, favoring instead terms like *ji* (record).

Gazetteers are noteworthy for containing a wide variety of information about the region they describe, indicative of the diverse sources from which this genre was derived: geographic, administrative and historical. The Qing dynasty scholar Zhang Xuecheng (1738–1801), one of the first to take gazetteers seriously as a source of historical information, noted: “Gazetteers for prefectures and counties are fundamentally part of the historical records of the country.” In another discussion of the role of this genre of writing, he said: “A great family has a genealogy, prefectures and counties have their gazetteers. . . . The import is the same.”² Gazetteers were written by individuals with expert local knowledge and were intended to be read in the first instance by officials appointed to that region and others in the central government—these texts reflect the particular concerns and interests of the

bureaucracy. However, it would not be correct to say that they are purely government documents. Many gazetteers were written by local scholars and hence may best be described as a form of communication between the region and the center; in return for giving the government useful information about issues such as administrative structures, population, taxation, and so on, gazetteer authors were allowed to record issues of concern to them. Gazetteers could therefore be used as a form of public relations exercise; by carefully choosing the information presented, a powerful local interest could completely change the interpretation of a site.

Scholars have identified a multiplicity of ancient sources for the gazetteer. Since gazetteers contain considerable amounts of geographic information, some scholars have suggested a link with geographic works such as the “Tribute of Yu” (Yu gong) chapter of the *Classic of History* (Shujing), and the treatises in dynastic histories.³ There are a number of Han dynasty “geographic texts” (*dili shu*) of this type, such as the “Treatise on Waterways” (Heju shu) in *Records of the Grand Historian* (Shiji), the “Treatise on Geography” (Dili zhi) chapter in the *History of the Han Dynasty* (Hanshu), and the “Treatise on Commanderies and Kingdoms” (Junguo zhi) in the *History of the Later Han Dynasty* (Hou Hanshu), but texts of this kind are concerned primarily with contemporary problems of bureaucratic administration.⁴ Although mention is occasionally made of the historical significance of a particular site, this is not the primary purpose of the geographic treatises found in the dynastic histories. Furthermore, these geographic treatises have a universal scope, in that they are intended to describe the geography of the entire empire. One of the salient characteristics of the gazetteer is that it describes the landscape and architecture of a specified region. Other scholars have sought the origin of the gazetteer in a different kind of early geographic text: the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* (Shanhai jing).⁵ However, gazetteers usually restrict themselves to descriptions of the factual without excursions into monsters and deities of the kind found in the *Classic of Mountains and Seas*.

Tales of the Lands of Wu and *Tales of the Lands of Yue*, the two geographic texts in the *Lost Histories of Yue*, are generally regarded as the earliest surviving gazetteers.⁶ The *Lost Histories of Yue* is a series of texts dating from the Warring States to the early Eastern Han dynasty; it was compiled by local scholars Yuan Kang and Wu Ping (dates unknown), probably around the year 25.⁷ The texts cover topics ranging from history, economics, and religion to textual exegesis. *Tales of the Lands of Wu* and *Tales of the Lands of*

Yue focus on the landscape and architecture of the ancient kingdoms of Wu and Yue, in what is today southern Jiangsu and northern Zhejiang respectively. Although *Tales of the Lands of Wu* is one of only two undisputed Han dynasty texts to concentrate on the landscape and history of a specific locale, it can at best be regarded as a proto-gazetteer text, one in which some of the characteristics of the genre may be said to be present in rudimentary form but are far from being fully developed.⁸ The position of *Tales of the Lands of Wu* in the history of the genre is based entirely on the perceptions of later scholars—not only did the authors of this chapter have no idea that they were writing a gazetteer-style text, but its position as such is still not universally acknowledged.⁹ This is perhaps due to the fact that the *Lost Histories of Yue* is a comparatively obscure text, produced as part of a regional tradition. When scholars seeking the origins of the gazetteer look for them in the dynastic histories and other texts that either were produced in a metropolitan context or have canonical sanction, they neglect those texts derived from sources outside these spheres.

The history of the gazetteer proper may be traced back to the Six Dynasties period (222–589), at which point it was still classified as a genre of geographic literature. Some 139 gazetteers are recorded in the Sui dynasty imperial library catalog; this record describes how Lu Deng (423–494) of the Southern Qi dynasty originally collected 160 of these works and classified them as geographic texts, or *dili shu*, and how Ren Fang (460–508) later collected an additional 84, which he considered to be local records (*diji*).¹⁰ It seems clear that from at least the time of the Sui dynasty, the government encouraged local officials to compile information of use to them concerning such important topics as boundaries, population, taxation, administrative structures, and so on; periodically the government might require such information for compilation into larger works, such as general geographies of the empire. These early compilations often included maps. While local histories in the Sui and Tang dynasties were generally called *ji*, or “records” (as in the title *Records of the Lands of Wu*), these maps and related texts produced by officials were more usually known as *tujing*, or “illustrated guides.” The history of the production of illustrated guides goes back to the Han dynasty; two texts of this type are known to have been produced during the Eastern Han, the *Illustrated Guide to Guangling Commandery* (Guangling jun tujing) by Wang Yi and the *Illustrated Guide to Ba Commandery* (Bajun tujing) by Dan Wang, neither of which has survived.¹¹

In the Song dynasty, illustrated guides were produced under the auspices of the Bureau of Operations (Zhifang), which in 1002 was granted the right to requisition maps and documentation from local officials. (Maps had regularly been submitted to the central government since at least the time of the Sui dynasty; the request for associated text was a Song dynasty development.) The information submitted in 1007 resulted in the publication in 1010 of the mammoth *Illustrated Guides to the Regions and Counties in the Xiangfu Reign Era*, produced under the editorship of Li Zong'e. Of the two hundred or so illustrated guides whose names have come down to us, some forty-three are mentioned as sources for this text: four from Jiangsu, seven from Zhejiang, two from Anhui, one from Fujian, twelve from Sichuan, and so on. The Bureau of Operations struggled to maintain up-to-date records during the Northern Song dynasty but without much success. In 1134, some years after the fall of the Northern Song, the Bureau of Operations was merged with the Equipment Section (Jiabu) to form a new administrative division: the Provisions Section (Kubu). However, this new division was not expected to maintain maps and textual records concerning individual administrative units in the empire.¹² Officials in the capital regarded the creation of these illustrated guides as something of a failed experiment. In the future, gazetteers would be produced by local officials and/or local scholars without significant central government supervision. This change is reflected in the nomenclature used: after the Song dynasty, local histories of this type were known as gazetteers.¹³

Two further important developments took place in the Song dynasty that would have a particular impact on the future of the genre. The first was the inclusion of much more personal information; from this time onward, it became standard to include biographies of important officials who served in the locale, local worthies, and persons of historical or cultural significance.¹⁴ The information provided in these accounts not only throws light on the history of the region and the background of the most important local families (an issue of some significance, particularly for families with considerable power in the provinces who had not achieved national prominence) but also tells the reader much about how the region wished to be perceived. Thus, whereas the biographies in the gazetteer for a city like Xiangyang in Hubei emphasize the military prowess and great bravery of local sons, the biographies of the native sons of Suzhou focus instead on their distinguished family backgrounds, long history of government service, and brilliant literary achievements.¹⁵ This emphasis on personalities marks a considerable depar-

ture from other kinds of geographic literature. The second development saw the establishment of a standard format for the types of information included and the internal structure of a gazetteer: (1) preface and editorial policy (*fanli*); (2) maps (*yutu* or *tukao*); (3) administrative units (*jiangyu*); (4) topographic features (*shanchuan*); (5) famous places (*mingsheng*), ruins (*guji*); (6) official buildings (*gongshu*); (7) passes, fords, bridges (*guanjin qiaoliang*); (8) water conservancy (*hefang* or *shuili*); (9) natural and man-made disasters (*zaiyi*); (10) academies (*shuyuan*); (11) schools (*xuexiao*); (12) Buddhist and Daoist temples (*siguan*); (13) officeholders (*zhiguan*); (14) successful examination candidates (*xuanju*); (15) population (*hukou*), taxes (*fushui*); (16) granary reserves (*cangchu*); (17) market towns (*shizhen*); (18) natural products (*wuchan*); (19) customs and festivals (*fengsu*); (20) biographies of dignitaries and the like (*renwu*); (21) military institutions (*bingshi* or *bingyi*); (22) biographies of monks (*shilao*); (23) inscriptions (*jinshi*), tombs (*lingmu*); (24) literary works (*yiwen*); and (25) miscellaneous records (*zalu*).

A wide range of gazetteers was produced during the Han–Northern Song dynasties; however, those for Suzhou (and indeed Jiangsu in general) have survived particularly well. This is not only true for the early imperial era; such remained the case long after the period covered by this book. The vicissitudes of fate make the local history of this eastern province unusually accessible to the modern scholar. For example, of the 27 gazetteers that survive from the Southern Song dynasty, 7 record areas in Jiangsu and 3 are specifically concerned with the city of Suzhou. Of the 160 gazetteers known to have been written during the Yuan dynasty, only 15 survive and 5 of those record Jiangsu.¹⁶ Among the various figures given for the total number of gazetteers written for Jiangsu as a whole during the imperial era, the most accurate seems to be given in the *Précis of Old Gazetteers from Jiangsu* (Jiangsu jiu fangzhi tiyao), which states that 1,170 gazetteers were written during the imperial era, of which 714 survive in their entirety and 84 as fragmentary records.¹⁷ This means that approximately 8 percent of all gazetteers produced during this time were concerned with this one province. Of these gazetteers, those for Suzhou represent approximately one-third of the total for Jiangsu. The *Précis of Old Gazetteers from Jiangsu* records 309 known gazetteers for this city, of which 208 have survived in their entirety and 26 as fragments. In the history of gazetteer writing in China, Jiangsu in general and Suzhou in particular are represented out of all proportion to their geographic size and population. This is especially true in the early imperial era, when Suzhou was just a remote provincial city, located far from the capital along the far-

these stretches of the Yangzi delta.¹⁸ This overrepresentation means that the early history of this city can be researched in much more detail than is possible for many others of much greater antiquity and importance.

Thanks to the different types of information included in gazetteers, they could be used in a number of ways. Primarily, they provided officials (whether local or in the central government) with information, as reflected in the contents; however, the authors of gazetteers did not ignore other possible audiences. They also had in mind the educational potential of the gazetteer, for the information it contained was available not only to officials; a popular gazetteer also offered private individuals opportunities to learn about the history and geography of the area. In the introduction to the Yuan dynasty *Gazetteer for Kunshan Commandery during the Zhizheng Reign Era, 1341–1369* (Zhizheng Kunshan junzhi), the author, Yang Weizhen (1296–1370), eloquently describes the didactic possibilities of this genre:

The texts kept in the imperial library represent the history of an entire country; an illustrated guide is the history of a single commandery. Without even leaving his front door, a gentleman can know the mountains and rivers, borders and boundaries of the world, its rulers and ministers, its government administration, [not to mention] the distant regions [inhabited by] barbarians—this is the mark of a national history. Without entering the confines [of a particular domain] he can know the people, the cities, the land taxes, the products of the place, and their different customs, as well as the variations in population—this is the mark of a local history.¹⁹

Gazetteers not only supplied accurate information to readers who would never be able to see the place with their own eyes; they also had a role to play before the invention of guidebooks in informing tourists of what there was to see in any particular locale. (In fact, gazetteer-style guidebooks are still printed today in China).²⁰ There are numerous accounts of people using gazetteers to determine the sights they wanted to see; furthermore, the poetry printed in the “Literary Works” section of a standard gazetteer would also be very useful for helping tourists to achieve the right mood in appreciating the scene before their eyes. From the Southern Song dynasty onward, the accounts of visitors to Suzhou record which gazetteers they used as guidebooks. For example, Zhou Bida (1126–1204), in his *Record of the Mountains of Wu Commandery* (Wujun zhushan lu), specifically mentions that his visit to

Tiger Hill was assisted by his readings from Zhu Changwen's *Supplementary Records to the "Illustrated Guide to Wu Commandery."*²¹ Thus the gazetteer came to be used by the reading public for purposes very different from those originally intended.

SUZHOU: POLITICAL HISTORY

Suzhou was built by King Helü of Wu to be the capital of the independent kingdom of Wu. This is reflected in the first recorded name by which the city was known: Helü Dacheng, or Helü's Great City. The nomenclature suggests the close relationship between the king and the city. King Helü came to the throne as the result of a coup in which the previous monarch was murdered. He may have found it uncomfortable or unsafe to retain his residence in the old capital (the location of which is still disputed) and instead demanded the construction of a new capital that would express the wealth and power of his realm, which would reach even greater heights during his reign.

The recorded history of the kingdom of Wu begins only in the time of King Helü's grandfather King Shoumeng (r. 585–561 BCE),²² which is when the ruling house of Wu began to open communications with the states of the Zhou confederacy and hence comes to be included in its historical records. However, very little is recorded about the early monarchs—King Helü's grandfather, father, two uncles, and a cousin—in ancient Chinese texts. King Helü himself is not significantly better served; indeed, only three events in his biography are described in any detail. These are the coup that brought him to the throne in 515 BCE, his brutal but highly successful invasion of Chu in 506 BCE, and his death in 496 BCE. Prince Guang of Wu, the future King Helü, seized the throne after arranging for the assassination of King Liao (r. 526–515 BCE), his first cousin.²³ King Liao made the fatal mistake of accepting an invitation to a banquet at the prince's house. During the banquet, Prince Guang made an excuse to leave the room, and once he had gone, a man named Zhuan Zhu made his way past the king's guards disguised as a servitor, pulled a dagger out of the fish he carried, and stabbed King Liao to death before he was cut down by the guards.

King Helü of Wu is regularly numbered among the hegemonies of the Spring and Autumn period in ancient Chinese historical and philosophical texts. He was regarded as the greatest monarch ever produced by the kingdom of Wu, a state with a short but eventful history. The numerous successful military campaigns that he fought against the kingdom of Chu, cul-

minating in the sack of their capital city at Ying in 506 BCE, were to prove crucial to his later reputation as the king who brought Wu to an apogee of power.²⁴ In 496 BCE, however, Wu invaded Yue while it was in a period of national mourning for the recently deceased King Yunchang (d. 497 BCE). Neighboring enemy states often sought to profit from internal divisions and the new ruler's inexperience and lack of control over the government and army during these times of national mourning. In this case, the newly crowned King Goujian of Yue (r. 496–465 BCE) won an extremely bloody victory against the Wu troops, and King Helü of Wu was severely injured.²⁵ The king of Wu died of his injuries on the retreat, and his body was taken back to his kingdom for burial. King Helü of Wu was succeeded by his son, King Fuchai (r. 495–473 BCE), whose early reign was dominated by the need to avenge his father's death in battle. Once King Fuchai had forced King Goujian of Yue into a humiliating surrender at Mount Kuaiji in 494 BCE, he seems to have contented himself with receiving tribute from his southern enemy rather than attempting to incorporate these lands into his own realm. This was to prove a pivotal mistake. Having taken revenge against Yue, King Fuchai turned his attention to the states of the Zhou confederacy, engaging in a series of military campaigns and diplomatic missions designed to enhance his status as the most important ruler of his day.²⁶ In spite of many warnings from his loyal ministers, King Fuchai refused to believe that the kingdom of Yue posed any threat to national security. Between 482 and 473 BCE, the kingdom of Yue launched a series of campaigns against Wu. In the final assault, the capital fell, and King Fuchai fled, a broken man. He committed suicide shortly after he was captured by the Yue army.²⁷ This ended the short but exciting history of the kingdom of Wu. Given the bellicose nature of the reigns of the last two monarchs of Wu, it is not surprising that accounts of the architecture of their capital contain many references to military preparations and defensive structures.

No discussion of events during the reigns of Kings Helü and Fuchai of Wu can be complete without mention of Wu Zixu (d. 484 BCE), a senior minister who served in both administrations. In contrast to the paucity of information about these two kings, the life of Wu Zixu is documented in considerable detail in a wide variety of ancient Chinese texts—in fact, he is probably the single best-recorded individual in the history of the Spring and Autumn period.²⁸ Wu Zixu was born into an important ministerial family in the kingdom of Chu, which had developed and maintained close links to the royal family over the course of many generations. Nevertheless, Wu

Zixu's father offended King Ping of Chu (r. 528–516 BCE) with a frank criticism of his morals after the king seized his son's bride for himself. For this offense, Wu Zixu's father and older brother were executed. Wu Zixu would have been killed as well had he not fled as a penniless fugitive to the kingdom of Wu. There, he made his way into the good graces of the future King Helü of Wu; according to many accounts, it was Wu Zixu who initially recruited the assassin that murdered King Liao. Wu Zixu went on to hold high office under both King Helü and King Fuchai and was credited with playing a crucial role in the victory over the kingdom of Chu in 506 BCE, when the capital city was sacked, events conventionally attributed to his desire for revenge against his father's murderers. Furthermore, Wu Zixu is said to have been entrusted with the task of designing King Helü's new capital.

After the death of King Helü, Wu Zixu continued to work for his successor, but under much more difficult circumstances. Wu Zixu was determined to see King Goujian of Yue killed and his state annexed, which brought him into direct conflict with Chancellor Bo Pi (d. 473 BCE) and the faction supporting peace. Eventually, angered by his old minister's intransigence, King Fuchai ordered him to commit suicide. This decision is often said to have been a factor in the subsequent downfall of the kingdom of Wu; indeed, the conquest by Yue proved that Wu Zixu had been right all along. The fall of the Wu capital was no doubt accompanied by great brutality; Chancellor Bo Pi and his family were murdered, in spite of his record of supporting better relations with Yue and clemency for King Goujian when he was a prisoner of war. According to one Han dynasty account, even the tomb of King Helü was desecrated.²⁹ However, the paucity of surviving records (not to mention their focus on the fate of the royal family and senior ministers) makes it impossible to do more than speculate about the fate of ordinary residents.

Virtually nothing is known about the city of Suzhou or the rest of the lands of Wu during the century and a half of rule by Yue. Sometime around the 330s BCE, the kingdom of Yue was in its turn conquered by Chu.³⁰ This event was of enormous importance for the city of Suzhou, for the ruins of the former capital of the kingdom of Wu eventually came under the administration of Lord Chunshen (d. 238 BCE), one of the four great lords of the Warring States era. Lord Chunshen and his son (who served as viceroy in the city) are said to have gone to great trouble to return the former Wu capital to its earlier glory; the restoration of the citadel, which was wrecked when Wu fell to the forces of Yue in 473 BCE, is said to have been among their projects.³¹ Lord Chunshen was subsequently much admired locally as the man who restored

the city to a semblance of its pre-conquest importance, and in the concluding remarks at the end of Lord Chunshen's biography in *Records of the Grand Historian*, Sima Qian (c. 145–86 BCE) notes the magnificence of the buildings still to be seen at the site of his former fief.³² During the imperial era, the works attributed to Lord Chunshen would be much increased, and many additional major monuments and projects were said to have been completed under his auspices.³³ Lord Chunshen of Chu was remembered affectionately in Suzhou throughout the imperial era and was eventually worshipped there as the city god. Although his cult was suppressed as heterodox during the Tang dynasty, it subsequently recovered.³⁴

In spite of his contemporary significance, remarkably little is known about Lord Chunshen. His biography in *Records of the Grand Historian* concentrates on two main events: the first occurred when Huang Xie, the future Lord Chunshen, was chosen to be the companion of Crown Prince Wan of Chu when he was sent as a hostage to the kingdom of Qin. During their time in exile, Huang Xie forged an extremely close friendship with the crown prince and became well acquainted with many of the leading political figures in Qin. This would stand him in good stead in 263 BCE, when news reached Qin that the king of Chu was dying. Huang Xie then helped Crown Prince Wan to escape from Qin and return unannounced to Chu. These actions were not without danger for Huang Xie, who could easily have faced execution for aiding and abetting the hostage's escape. Having returned safe and sound to Chu, Crown Prince Wan succeeded to the throne as King Kaolie of Chu (r. 262–238 BCE), the antepenultimate monarch of the kingdom. One of his first acts was to appoint Huang Xie the new prime minister of Chu, and he bestowed a wide range of other honors on his erstwhile companion-in-exile. The second concerns the paternity of King Kaolie's son. The close relationship between Lord Chunshen and King Kaolie remained constant during their long lives, even in spite of the scabrous gossip claiming that King Kaolie was not the father of Crown Prince Han, the future King You of Chu (r. 237–226 BCE). The mother of Crown Prince Han had been Lord Chunshen's concubine before being presented to King Kaolie, and according to malicious rumor, she was pregnant at the time, making Lord Chunshen the real father of King You of Chu. Lord Chunshen is said to have died at the hands of his concubine's brother, desperate to protect the secret of the deception that they had perpetrated upon the Chu ruling house.³⁵ *Tales of the Lands of Wu* contains many unique references to the city during Lord Chunshen's tenure, which give a special insight into the development of Suzhou during this time.

In 223 BCE, the kingdom of Chu fell to the forces of Qin. The king of Qin declared the unification of China in 221 BCE and proclaimed himself the First Emperor of China (r. 221–210 BCE). From this time onward, the lands of the ancient southern kingdom of Wu came to be regarded as part of the heartland of the empire. Although this territory had earlier been an independent kingdom, and the history and culture of Wu continued to play a significant role in the construction of a local identity, throughout the imperial era, the fate of the city of Suzhou's inhabitants generally lay in the hands of officials and bureaucrats located far away at the imperial capital. The First Emperor of China visited the Wu region in person once, during his tour of inspection in 210 BCE. His southernmost destination was Mount Kuaiji, which had been the site of King Goujian of Yue's last stand and final surrender to the forces of King Fuchai and was subsequently chosen by the First Emperor as a suitable location for the erection of one of his mandate steles.³⁶ The First Emperor was to die as he made his way back to the imperial capital at Xianyang, and the Qin empire would not long survive him, collapsing in 207 BCE.

Upon the establishment of the Han dynasty, the founder, Emperor Gaozu (r. 202–195 BCE), rewarded his closest relatives and key supporters with massive land grants. Initially the city of Suzhou fell within the borders of the kingdom of Jing, which was awarded to Liu Jia, Han Gaozu's cousin, who was killed in 195 BCE, leaving no male heir.³⁷ Subsequently, the kingdom was renamed Wu and given to Liu Bi (d. 154 BCE), the son of the late older brother of the founder of the Han dynasty. (Liu Bi's father was known posthumously as King Qing of Wu, even though he died in 193 BCE, before his son was invested with the title.) The region became extremely wealthy under Liu Bi's administration, as the king insisted on maintaining considerable economic independence and invested heavily in local mining and salt-making industries that proved to be very lucrative. In 154 BCE, however, Liu Bi rose in rebellion against Emperor Jing of the Han dynasty (r. 157–141 BCE) in the so-called revolt of the Seven Kings (*Qiwang zhi luan*). Liu Bi's loathing for the Han emperor was not without foundation. Some years earlier, the future emperor had murdered Liu Bi's son with his bare hands following an argument over a game of *liubo*.³⁸ Although initially the king of Wu seems to have been content to use the death of his son as a bargaining chip to ensure his independence, after the accession of Emperor Jing, the relationship between his majesty and the central government worsened to the point of no return.

When the revolt of the Seven Kings failed, Liu Bi was killed and his kingdom partitioned. The lands north of the Yangzi River were renamed Jiangdu and given as a fief to the king of Ru'nán, one of Emperor Jing's sons. Descendants of the king of Ru'nán would continue to hold these lands on and off during the Western Han dynasty, first as the kings of Jiangdu, then as the kings of Guangling. In the wake of the revolt of the Seven Kings, however, the power of such monarchs was severely curtailed so that none would achieve the economic and military independence enjoyed by Liu Bi, the king of Wu. Meanwhile, Liu Bi's territory south of the Yangzi River was reconstituted as Kuaiji Commandery, administered by officials under the command of the central government. This situation would prevail for the remainder of the Western Han dynasty. At this time, Suzhou was mostly relegated to the position of a minor provincial city, although it held some strategic importance as a staging post for the Han military during its campaigns against the independent kingdoms of Minyue and Dongou, located in modern-day Fujian, which culminated in the conquest of 110 BCE. After this brief flurry of activity, Suzhou reverted to being a backwater.³⁹ The region does not seem to have bulked large in the minds of Han dynasty emperors or administrators; certainly no Han emperor felt inclined to visit Suzhou on an imperial progress.

The fortunes of the city changed dramatically when the Han dynasty collapsed following the Yellow Turbans rebellion and the virtual usurpation of the government by the tyrant Dong Zhuo (d. 192). When the central government crumbled, warlords rose up in various regions of China. In 222, Sun Quan (182–252) declared himself the first king and then emperor of the Three Kingdoms era Wu dynasty, under the title Emperor Da of Wu (r. 222–252), and announced the inaugural reign era name Huangwu (222–228).⁴⁰ This was to prove a highly significant event in the city's history for two reasons. First, the Sun family claimed an extremely close association with the history of the ancient kingdom of Wu; its members were said to be descendants of one of King Helü of Wu's great generals, Sun Wu, the putative author of *Master Sun's Art of War* (Sunzi bingfa).⁴¹ Second, Lady Wu (d. 202), Sun Quan's mother, was a native of the city of Suzhou, and after her death, her home there became one of the earliest known Buddhist temples in the region.⁴² (Sun Quan constructed the Jianchu si in Nanjing in 247—the very first Buddhist foundation to be constructed in the Wu region.)⁴³ Given the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the city enjoyed something of a renaissance during the Three Kingdoms era. The privileged position of

Suzhou during this time, coupled with the fact that the wars in which the Wu dynasty was involved were fought on battlefields far away, ensured that the city suffered minimal damage at a time of considerable violence.

In 280, the Wu dynasty collapsed under the onslaught of the forces of Emperor Wu of Jin (r. 266–290), and China was briefly reunified. Rather than attempting to disrupt the power structures in the south that had been in place since at least the time of the collapse of the Han dynasty, the new Jin rulers attempted to integrate local elite clans into their administration, and many aristocrats from the Wu dynasty continued to play important roles in the new regime.⁴⁴ When Emperor Wu died in 290, the mentally handicapped Sima Zhong came to the throne as Emperor Hui (r. 291–306). The new emperor's learning difficulties necessitated a regency, and disputes between the regent, Emperor Hui's powerful empress, and other senior members of the Sima family quickly plunged the state into civil war, the notorious war of the Eight Kings (*Bawang zhi zhan*).⁴⁵ Although the conflict was eventually resolved, the empire was so severely weakened that it could raise no effective defense against successive invasions by Xiongnu forces in the period 307–311. Having lost control of the whole of northern China, the dynasty survived as the much weaker Eastern Jin state, founded in 317 by Sima Rui, who took the title Emperor Yuan (r. 317–323). The capital of the Eastern Jin state was located at Nanjing, which had earlier been the capital of the Wu dynasty under the Sun family.

For the next 150 years, northern China was ruled by successive Xiongnu, Xianbei and Tuoba regimes. The ethnically Chinese states south of the Yangzi River were generally extremely short-lived and riven by serious internal conflict. Of the Southern Dynasties, the Liang would play a particularly important role in the development of the city of Suzhou. Although the Liang capital at this time was located at what is now the city of Nanjing, a number of senior statesmen and other important cultural figures had their homes in Suzhou. Furthermore, the founder of the dynasty, Emperor Wu of Liang (r. 502–549), was an extremely devout Buddhist who played a significant role in the promotion of the faith in the Wu region during his lengthy reign.⁴⁶ Seventeen temples are recorded as having been founded during this time; many nobles and wealthy individuals living in and around the city of Suzhou presented their homes to the Buddhist church, and others were constructed by personal command of the emperor. These important foundations would form bastions of the Buddhist faith in Suzhou and the surrounding area for the rest of the imperial era. In addition, the vibrant intellectual life at the

Liang court encouraged the composition of a large number of extremely important works of literature. The emperor himself was not only the author of numerous commentaries on classical texts but also a distinguished patron of the arts, as were other members of his family.⁴⁷ Hence a number of important early works of literature concerning the city of Suzhou were composed during these years.

After the collapse of the Liang dynasty under the assault of the rebel Hou Jing (d. 522), a small portion of Liang territory was the home of the Chen, the last of the Southern Dynasties of the Age of Disunion. The last ruler of the dynasty, Chen Shubao (r. 583–589), appointed his tenth son, Chen Fan, king of Wu Commandery in 588—a short-lived appointment given that the regime collapsed the following year. Chen Fan ended up serving the Sui dynasty as a government official.⁴⁸ With the fall of the short-lived Sui regime, the southern Jiangsu region was devastated by rebel armies under the command of first Li Zitong (d. 622) and then Fu Gongshi (d. 624).⁴⁹ In 620, the third year of the Wude reign era of the Tang dynasty, Du Fuwei (c. 598–624), one of the rebel leaders who had seized control of large swathes of Jiangsu, changed sides and surrendered to the nascent Tang dynasty. As a reward, he was given the title King of Wu and had the imperial surname bestowed upon him by the emperor. At the time of Li Fuwei's death, he was accused of treason, whereupon his surviving family members were reduced to slavery. In 626, Li Fuwei was finally cleared of the charge of treason by Emperor Taizong (r. 626–649), and the title was reinstated, to be inherited by his son, Li Ke.⁵⁰ By throwing in his lot with the Tang dynasty, Li Fuwei no doubt spared the people of the region much further suffering.

During the Tang dynasty, Suzhou again reverted to the status of a minor provincial city. When the Tang collapsed in 907, Suzhou and the surrounding region were again ravaged by warfare. Finally the city was incorporated into the Ten Kingdoms era state of Wuyue, which provided the populace with a much-needed respite. At this time, the capital of the Wuyue state was located at Hangzhou, but Suzhou was nevertheless extremely important both economically and strategically. The city's strategic importance lay in its function as a bulwark against an attack on the capital from the north, in particular from the Southern Tang dynasty, a state with its capital at Jinling (modern-day Nanjing). This threat was taken so seriously that the founder of the Wuyue dynasty, Qian Liu, who ruled as King Wusu (r. 907–932), appointed one of his sons to take charge of administering the city.⁵¹ Qian Yuanliao, the king of Guangling (887–942), thus played a major role in

ensuring the dynasty's security.⁵² The city of Suzhou flourished during this era, for the Wuyue regime was highly stable and well administered. Qian Yuanliao was also particularly interested in horticulture and laid out numerous gardens, of which the most famous is the Southern Garden (Nanyuan).⁵³ The city of Suzhou had been known for its gardens since the Jin dynasty; however, the king of Guangling's garden would reach new heights. Qian Yuanliao's successful administration would continue under the auspices of his son, Qian Wenfeng. In the eyes of many later historians, the last ruler's negotiated surrender to the founder of the Song dynasty was one of the crowning achievements of the Wuyue dynasty, as it thereby ensured a peaceful transfer of power and spared the region's inhabitants the horrors of war.⁵⁴ The achievements of the kings of Wuyue, who successfully ruled the region for seventy-eight years, survived into the next dynasty without the slightest destruction. Indeed, Qian Chu, the last monarch of the Wuyue dynasty, remained resident in Hangzhou under the reign-title King Zhongyi (r. 947–978) after his lands were incorporated into the Song realm. Furthermore, he continued to administer the region in the capacity of “King of Wuyue” until his death in 988. His descendants would play an important role in the history of the Song dynasty as late as the Southern Song.⁵⁵

During the Song dynasty, the fortunes of the city of Suzhou changed yet again. From being one of the most important cities in the small kingdom of Wuyue and an important contributor to maintaining security on the northern frontier, Suzhou was reduced to being merely the capital of an eastern commandery. Starting at the time the Song dynasty was founded, security concerns were focused on regimes in what is now Manchuria and Inner Mongolia: the Khitan Liao dynasty, the Tangut Xixia kingdom, and the Jurchen Jin dynasty. Located far from the capital, not to mention the battlefields of the north, Suzhou was largely unaffected by the Song state's military weakness until after the fall of the Northern Song. Before the sack of the capital Biancheng (modern-day Kaifeng), the capture of virtually the entire imperial clan, and the loss of most of northern China in the devastating campaign of 1126, it would have been unimaginable that Suzhou—located so far to the south—would find itself under attack from the Jurchen armies. The impact of these events would, however, be felt far from the northeastern lands that were the Jurchen's home, and the floods of refugees unleashed by the fall of the Northern Song dynasty would have a profound effect on the social and cultural life of Suzhou. Furthermore, for the next century and a half, Suzhou would be a bastion of defense for the Southern Song capital city

at Lin'an (modern-day Hangzhou), a key metropolis with an important role to play in maintaining security along the border with the Jin empire, now located just north of the Yangzi River.

SUZHOU: ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

At the time of its founding, the city of Suzhou was intended to function as the capital of the kingdom of Wu, but due to the paucity of early records concerning the history of this kingdom and its internal governmental structures, the administration of the city and its connections with outlying regions are virtually unknown. *Tales of the Lands of Wu* suggests that important government buildings were located in the citadel, while the remainder of the area within the city walls was more sparsely populated. A network of roads and canals connected the city with the suburban royal palaces and other Wu settlements and fortresses; the nomenclature suggests that many must have been constructed during the late Spring and Autumn period. This description of urban and suburban buildings and communications systems does not explain how this territory was actually administered. Other than the names of the kings of Wu and a handful of members of the royal family, only a few of the most important ministers, generals, and diplomats are recorded in ancient Chinese historical texts. The careers of these individuals offer few clues as to the way the kingdom's government worked in practice. This is particularly the case given that so many of these senior figures (including the supposed designer of the city of Suzhou, Wu Zixu, and his nemesis, Chancellor Bo Pi) were foreigners, refugees from noble families of other kingdoms seeking sanctuary and employment in Wu, rather than local men who either filled hereditary posts or had been promoted through the ranks.

As with the situation during the time when these lands were part of the kingdom of Wu, the administration of the region after the conquest by Yue is extremely obscure. There are no records documenting the way in which either the city or the surrounding area was governed during the century and a half of rule by Yue. The administrative system has been somewhat clarified regarding what happened after Yue was conquered by Chu and the city of Suzhou was given to Lord Chunshen as his fief. According to *Tales of the Lands of Wu*, Lord Chunshen seems to have been in control of the administration of the city and its surrounding regions. When he was serving as prime minister in the Chu capital, he left his son behind to take charge of

his fief. According to a now-lost section of the *Lost Histories of Yue*, however, quoted in the Liang dynasty scholar Liu Zhao's (dates unknown) commentary on the *History of the Later Han Dynasty*, a number of administrative structures remained in place from the time when these lands were part of the kingdom of Yue. In the note appended to a reference to An county, part of Wu Commandery, it says: "Within [this county] there is the tomb at Xicen. [The walled city here] was constructed by King Sunkai of Yue, in order to defend against Lord Chunshen. He sent his son to guard it. When his son died, he was buried inside the city walls."⁵⁶

This reference suggests that Chu's conquest of the region was far from complete and that Lord Chunshen faced considerable opposition to his administration; however, the paucity of evidence means that this kind of brief comment is extremely difficult to interpret. With the unification of China under the First Emperor in 221 BCE, the administration of the Wu region was subject to a completely new structure. The basic unit of administration was the county, or *xian*. Clusters of counties were organized into commanderies, or *jun*. Commanderies were then further grouped into provinces or regions, or *zhou*. The units of county and commandery would remain in use for the remainder of the period covered by this book, although the precise number of counties (as well as commanderies) covered by the city of Suzhou and its environs would change, as would the nomenclature for these administrative divisions. The aim of all boundary changes was to optimize the efficiency of the bureaucratic structure—for example, in Yang Shangxi's (fl. 581–589) memorable comparison, too minute a division would see far too many officials assigned to a particular region, resulting in nine shepherds to ten sheep.⁵⁷ Hence, as the population of the Wu region expanded, new counties could be created and existing commanderies subdivided into new administrative units.

At the time of the unification of China, the city of Suzhou was placed within the borders of Kuaiji Commandery, named after the range of hills that function as the sacred southern *marchemont*, or guardian mountain, in what is now Zhejiang. According to the "Treatise on Geography" chapter in the *History of the Han Dynasty*, Kuaiji Commandery contained twenty-six counties (listed in order of their appearance in the original text): Wu, Qu'e, Wushang, Piling, Yuji, Yangxian, Zhuji, Wuxi, Shanyin, Dantu, Yuyao, Lou, Shangyu, Haiyan, Yan, Youquan, Damo, Wucheng, Juzhang, Yuhang, Yin, Qiantang, Mao, Fuchun, Ye, and Huipu.⁵⁸ The names of many of these counties were derived from Gouwu place-names, also recorded in *Tales of the*

Lands of Wu.⁵⁹ One of the few names that was not derived from the local language is that of Shanyin County; according to this text, it was chosen by the First Emperor of China himself. However, the precise details of size and scope of many commanderies, including Kuaiji, remain controversial, given that the number of commanderies established during the Qin dynasty is still a matter of considerable debate. Early historical texts, such as *Records of the Grand Historian* and the *History of the Han Dynasty*, conventionally state that thirty-six commanderies were founded during the Qin, which does not agree with the number mentioned by name in these texts.⁶⁰ Furthermore, thanks to recent archaeological discoveries, it is now known that several Qin dynasty commanderies are recorded in ancient administrative documents that do not appear in transmitted historical texts.⁶¹ Excavated government documents have also resulted in a major reassessment of the size and distribution of administrative units in the Qin dynasty.⁶² It remains entirely possible that future archaeological discoveries will further increase the number of Qin dynasty commanderies and refine our knowledge of borders and internal administration. In particular, it has been noted that Kuaiji Commandery occupied only a fraction of the territory of the former kings of Yue and that the remainder is at present unaccounted for within the Qin administrative structure. It is therefore likely that this missing territory was governed under a separate commandery, probably called Zhejiang, given that a Qin dynasty governor's seal now in the collection of the Shanghai Museum attests to this name.⁶³

With the founding of the Han dynasty, the original Qin administrative system was dismantled and the lands of Wu became part of, first, the kingdom of Jing, then Wu, and then, after the failure of the revolt of the Seven Kings, part of the kingdom of Jiangdu. In the immediate aftermath of the discovery of the last king of Jiangdu's unsavory activities, his territory was restructured as Guangling and Kuaiji Commanderies (based north and south of the Yangzi River respectively) and administered by officials appointed by the central government. During the reign of Emperor Ping of Han (1 BCE–5 CE), Wang Mang (c. 45 BCE–23 CE) instituted the policy of "saving the destroyed and continuing the disrupted" (*xingmie jiuju*), as a result of which a nephew of the last king of Jiangdu, Liu Gong, was selected to become the first king of Guangling. He received only lands north of the Yangzi River; Kuaiji Commandery was unaffected by this change.⁶⁴

According to the census of 2 CE, the first in China's history, Kuaiji Commandery contained 223,038 households and a population of 1,032,604 people.

This census was taken just before the country was engulfed in the chaos surrounding the Wang Mang interregnum. During Wang Mang's reign, many of the counties of Kuaiji Commandery were temporarily given "Chinese"-style names, in preference to the traditional Gouwu terminology; however, once the regime collapsed, the old names were reinstituted. During the reign of Emperor Shun (r. 125–144) in the Eastern Han dynasty, Kuaiji Commandery was divided into two parts. The northern half became the new Wu Commandery, consisting of the counties of Wu, Haiyan, Wucheng, Yuhang, Piling, Dantu, Qu'e, Youquan, An, Fuchun, Yangxian, Wuxi (administered as the fief of a marquis, according to the *History of the Later Han Dynasty*), and Lou.⁶⁵ Meanwhile, the counties of Shanyin, Mao, Wushang, Zhuji, Yuji, Taimo (Western Han dynasty Damo), Shangwu, Yan, Yuyao, Juzhang, Yin, Zhang'an, and Dongbu formed the territory of the much-reduced Kuaiji Commandery. (Before the time of Emperor Guangwu of Han [r. 25–57], Zhang'an County had been known as Ye. The reason for the change of name is not known.) The census of 140 reports that Wu Commandery has a population of 164,164 households and 700,782 individuals, while Kuaiji Commandery has a population of 123,090 households and 481,196 individuals.⁶⁶ This represents a 14 percent increase in population over the year 2 reported in the *History of the Han Dynasty*. The figures for these two commanderies should be understood in the context of significant depopulation occurring in northern China at that time; some 8–9 million fewer people are reported in the Eastern Han dynasty census compared to that of the Western Han.

The division recorded as taking place during the reign of Emperor Shun, which saw Kuaiji Commandery become Wu and Kuaiji, was merely the first of its kind in the region. Once the population and economic development of any particular county had reached a certain point, the county was divided; likewise, once a number of counties had become sufficiently wealthy and populous, they would be divided into a separate commandery. The territory that formed Wu Commandery in the Han dynasty stretched from the Yangzi River delta down to the Qiantang River and encompassed the eastern bank of Lake Tai as well. By the time of the Tang dynasty, the area under the control of Wu Commandery had lost six counties on the northern and southern borders of the commandery and been reduced to the region located between Lake Tai and the sea. In the Northern Song dynasty, this area was further reduced to merely the five counties in the immediate vicinity of the city of Suzhou. This kind of division took place repeatedly, reflecting the wealth and populous nature of the region. In this particular case, it often creates confu-

sion, given that the same name is given to local administrative units of very different size and importance.

During the Three Kingdoms era Wu dynasty, there seem to have been few changes to the administration of Wu Commandery. One significant development is the change of name for Youquan County. In the third year of the Huanglong reign era (231), an auspicious grain was said to have been discovered growing within the borders of this county, and hence the name was changed to Hexing (Flourishing Grain). The appearance of this good omen was also commemorated in the name of a new reign era: Jiahe (232–237). In the fifth year of the Chiwu reign era (242) of the Wu dynasty, the name was changed to Jiaxing County, in order to avoid the taboo on using the personal name of the Wu crown prince. The crown prince concerned was Sun He (224–253), the third son of the founder of the dynasty, who was demoted in 250 and eventually forced to commit suicide in the terrible internecine struggles that marked the period following Sun Quan's death. When Sun He's son, Sun Hao (r. 264–280), became the fourth and last emperor of the dynasty, his father was posthumously honored as Emperor Wen of the Wu dynasty. The reasons for the renaming of Youquan County are recorded in *Record of the Lands of Wu*, in an account closely associated with *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (Sanguo zhi), the official history of the dynasty.⁶⁷ In addition, Fuchun County was removed from the control of Wu Commandery and temporarily reassigned to Dong'an Commandery. This change is often said to have taken place in the fourth year of the Huangwu reign era (225); however, most modern scholars follow *Record of the Three Kingdoms* in stating that it occurred in the fifth year (226).⁶⁸ A number of new counties were also created during this time; Jiande County, Xinchang County, and Tonglu County were all established by dividing the territory of Fuchun County.

In 280, once the Three Kingdoms era Wu dynasty had been conquered by Jin forces, the founder of the dynasty enfeoffed his sixth son as the King of Wu. Sima Yan (282–311) received the three commanderies of Danyang, Wuxing, and Wu as his fief. As suggested by the date of Sima Yan's demise, he played no part in the war of the Eight Kings, which was a crucial factor in the collapse of the Jin dynasty. In 280, Xinchang County, first established during the Wu dynasty, was renamed Shouchang County. The reasons for this change of nomenclature are not known. The reunification of China under the Jin was also the occasion of a census, which records the population of Wu Commandery as 25,000 households.⁶⁹ Although Wu Commandery was smaller during the Jin dynasty than under the Han, this apparent precipi-

tous drop in the number of residents cannot be entirely explained by the fact that well-populated counties had been assigned to the administration of other commanderies. It seems likely that there was a decline in the population at this time, whether through warfare or migration, and serious under-reporting in the census figures. Only one new county was created during the Jin dynasty, to take account of the expanding population of Wu County. The new division, which was established in 283, was named Haiyu County.⁷⁰

After the loss of northern China, the Eastern Jin dynasty was established in the south. In the first year of the Xianhe reign era (326), the third ruler of the Eastern Jin, Emperor Cheng (r. 326–342), appointed his younger brother Sima Yue as the King of Wu. The following year, Sima Yue became king of Langya. These were clearly purely honorific appointments, and Sima Yue played no role in the administration of the region. It was during these years that the Wu region was ravaged by the armies of the rebel Han Huang (d. 329); the prefect of Wu Commandery, Yu Bing (296–344), was one of the leaders of the resistance.⁷¹ Eventually, and in spite of pronounced opposition from the senior government minister He Chong (292–346), who favored patrilineal succession, Sima Yue succeeded his brother as Emperor Kang of the Jin dynasty (r. 343–344).⁷² In a victory for He Chong, Emperor Kang was in turn succeeded by his infant son, Sima Dan, as Emperor Mu of Jin (r. 345–361). He Chong became one of the key figures during the regency, and his niece He Fani (339–404), a native of the city of Suzhou, became empress.⁷³ Emperor Cheng of the Jin dynasty also established Xincheng County in Wu Commandery in 334 by taking some territory from Fuchun County. According to the “Treatise on Geography” chapter in the *History of the Jin Dynasty* (Jin-shu), Wu Commandery consisted of eleven counties during this time (Wu, Jiaxing, Haiyan, Yanguan, Qiantang, Fuyang, Tonglu, Jiande, Shouchang, Haiyu, and Lou) with a total population of 25,000 households.⁷⁴ One of these counties, Fuyang, represents an old bureaucratic division with a new Jin dynasty name, Fuchun County; the name of the mother of Emperor Jianwen of the Jin dynasty (r. 371–372) was Zheng Achun (d. 326), so the county name was changed as a gesture of respect.

After the fall of the Eastern Jin dynasty in 420, Wu Commandery came under the control of the Liu-Song dynasty. During this time, Wu Commandery controlled eleven counties, listed as Wu, Lou, Jiaxing, Haiyu, Yanguan, Qiantang, Fuyang, Xincheng, Jiande, Tonglu, and Shouchang. The population is given in the 464 census as 50,488 households, with 424,812 individuals.⁷⁵ The same eleven counties are recorded in the *History of the*

Southern Qi Dynasty (Nan Qishu), but the text contains no census figures. During the Liang dynasty, two changes were made concerning counties in Wu Commandery. First, Lou County was briefly called Xinyi County and then finally designated by the name Kunshan County, which remained in use for much of the rest of the imperial era. The reasons for this change in nomenclature are not clear, and the three gazetteers translated in this volume do not provide any illumination on this point. Second, the population of Wu County was now so high that it justified partition; hence Changshu County was created in 540.⁷⁶ It would be correct to say that the bureaucratic changes that took place in the administration of Wu Commandery during the Southern Dynasties of the Age of Disunion generally are not particularly well recorded. Furthermore, given that no censuses were conducted during this time (or if they were, the information has not survived), it is impossible to chart population changes during this era in any detail.

With the reunification of China during the Sui dynasty, not only was a census taken, but the administration of Wu Commandery was subject to root-and-branch reform. According to the "Treatise on Geography" chapter in the *History of the Sui Dynasty* (Suishu), Wu Commandery at this time consisted of five counties: Wu, Kunshan, Changshu, Wucheng, and Changcheng. The population of these three counties is given as 18,377 households.⁷⁷ In the Tang dynasty, Wu Commandery was abolished, and Suzhou, or Su Department (so translated in order to avoid confusion with the city of Suzhou), was founded. Wu Commandery was reestablished in 742, only to be disestablished when Su Department was reestablished in 758. The population changes that occurred in Su Department during the Tang dynasty are well documented in contemporaneous and later texts. The first known census figures for Su Department at this time are given in the Ming dynasty *Gazetteer for Gusu* (Gusu zhi), "Gusu" being one of the ancient names for the Wu region. The source of these figures is not known. According to this account, in the eighth year of the Zhenguan reign era (634), Su Department had a population of 11,899 households and 54,481 individuals.⁷⁸ The reduction in population compared to that recorded in the Sui dynasty is probably the result of the carnage this region suffered during the revolts led by Li Zitong and Fu Gongshi in the early Tang dynasty. In the twenty-ninth year of the Kaiyuan reign era (741), the population of Su Department stood at 76,147 households.⁷⁹ By the time of the next census, in the twelfth year of the Tianbao reign era (753), the population was set at 76,421 households consisting of 632,655 individuals.⁸⁰ At this time, there were six counties under the

auspices of Su Department: Wu, Jiaying, Kunshan, Changshu, Changzhou, and Haiyan.

Of these six counties, Changzhou was relatively newly established, created in 696 during the reign of Empress Wu Zetian (r. 690–705), when the population of the city of Suzhou had expanded to the point that it could no longer be administered effectively by a single county. The name for Changzhou was derived from *Tales of the Lands of Wu*, for this is where the kings of Wu were said to have raced their dogs. As is made clear by the “Treatise on Geography” chapter in the *Old History of the Tang Dynasty* (Jiu Tangshu), although the names were derived from the region’s history, many of the counties themselves were not in their original locations. Shortly after the information for the “Treatise on Geography” was compiled, the prefect of Wu Commandery, Zhao Juzhen (*jinshi* 712), founded Huating County in Su Department, by taking land from Kunshan, Jiaying, and Haiyan Counties.⁸¹ The county’s name commemorated a famous Wu dynasty garden built in the neighborhood.

The census results of 814 recorded in the *Illustrated Gazetteer of Commanderies and Counties of the Yuanhe Reign Era, 806–820* (Yuanhe junxian tuzhi) by Li Jifu (758–814) show 100,808 households. In the Yuanhe reign era, Su Department consisted of seven counties: Wu, Changzhou, Jiaying, Haiyan, Changshu, Kunshan, and Huating.⁸² This was also the situation at the time the “Treatise on Geography” was compiled for the *New History of the Tang Dynasty* (Xin Tangshu), although this account simply repeats the figures for the 753 census quoted above (76,421 households and 632,655 individuals).⁸³ The 814 census gives the last population figures before the collapse of the Tang dynasty and the appalling violence of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period. In the Song dynasty, the census often recorded not only the total population but also the number of refugee families who had moved into the area during the turbulent times that followed the fall of the Tang dynasty. Thus *Record of Universal Geography of the Taiping Reign Era, 976–983* (Taiping huanyu ji) gives the following figures for the census in 980, twenty years after the founding of the dynasty: 27,889 native households and 7,306 incoming households, for a total of 35,195 households.⁸⁴ In the same year, Su Department was reorganized as Pingjiang Military Prefecture (Pingjiang jun jiedu). As noted by Gu Licheng in his study of the collapse of the Tang dynasty and the concomitant population movements, the dramatic reduction in the number of households recorded in the 980 census is indicative of the appalling violence unleashed in this region during these troubled

times.⁸⁵ Details of what occurred when Suzhou was besieged by Sun Ru (d. 892) and his forces are scant, but the figures tell their own story of death and destruction, which was not yet offset by the arrival of immigrant families. The *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* (Zizhi tongjian) account of Sun Ru's sack of Yangzhou in 891 describes his manner of dealing with the populace: "Sun Ru . . . then burned every house in Yangzhou and forced all the strong young men and women to cross the Yangzi River [with him], having murdered the old people and babies to augment his food supplies."⁸⁶

The second census conducted after the founding of the Song dynasty, held in 1010, recorded the population of Pingjiang Military Prefecture as 66,139 households. The results of another census, taken in 1080, are recorded in *Treatise on the Nine Territories in the Yuanfeng Reign Era, 1078–1085* (Yuanfeng jiuyu zhi) and give a population of 158,767 native households (*zhuhu*, literally "host households") and 15,202 newcomer households (*kehu*, literally, "guest households"), with a total of 173,696 households.⁸⁷ This is the last figure available before the devastating floods of 1090 and 1091, which drowned many thousands of the region's wretched inhabitants. In the third year of the Zhenghe reign era (1113), Pingjiang Military Prefecture was reformed and became simply Pingjiang Prefecture (Pingjiang fu). Another census in taken in 1120 records the population of the region as 152,821 households and 448,312 individuals.⁸⁸ This was the last census conducted before the loss of northern China to the Jurchen invaders and the collapse of the Northern Song dynasty.

It has been estimated that in 1229—the year the "Map of Pingjiang [Prefecture]" (Pingjiang tu), the earliest-known to-scale city map, was carved—the population of the city of Suzhou stood at around 300,000 individuals. Determining the precise figures for urban and rural populations in Wu Commandery, Su Department, or Pingjiang Military Prefecture in the early imperial era is extremely difficult, since the surviving documentation does not give a sufficiently detailed analysis of the numbers to allow anything other than speculation. Furthermore, the extent of the effect of the Jurchen sack of the city in 1130 is not known, but it is thought that the population of the city of Suzhou may well have reached this level some centuries earlier.⁸⁹ It is certainly the case that during the time period described by the three gazetteers translated in this book, the population of this region went through some alarming drops, indicative of the violence of dynastic change (see table 1.1 for recorded census figures from the Han to the Northern Song dynasty). It is worth bearing in mind that the size of families seems to have changed

during the early imperial era: figures for the Han dynasty suggest that each household would have consisted of approximately four members, but by the late Age of Disunion, in the Sui and Tang dynasties, the figures are closer to eight individuals per household, before they return to around four members per household in the Song dynasty.

TABLE 1.1: Population of the Wu Region in the Early Imperial Era

YEAR OF CENSUS (CE)	NUMBER OF COUN- TIES	NUMBER OF HOUSE- HOLDS	NUMBER OF RESI- DENTS
2	26	223,038	1,032,604
140	13	164,164	700,782
280	11	25,000	—
464	12	50,488	424,812
(Sui)	5	18,377	—
634	4	11,899	54,481
741	6	76,147	—
753	6	76,421	632,655
814	7	100,808	—
980	5	35,195	—
1010	5	66,139	—
1080	5	173,696	379,487
1120	5	152,821	448,312

SUZHOU: SOCIAL HISTORY

In the Spring and Autumn period, when the kingdom of Wu made its first appearance in the records of the Zhou confederacy, this region was inhabited by the non-Chinese Gouwu people. The Gouwu were a culturally and linguistically distinct people who formed the northernmost branch of the riverine and coastal Bai Yue peoples, whose territory stretched from approximately the site of modern-day Nanjing into what is now northern Vietnam.⁹⁰ The cultural characteristics of the Gouwu made them highly distinct from the Hua-Xia Chinese populations of the Yellow River basin area. They tattooed their bodies and cut their hair, both highly visible signs of difference and sources of much prejudice from northern populations for whom tattooing in particular was a sign of criminality. Ancient Chinese texts reference other local customs that also drew prejudicial comment, including poncho-style garments, the ceremonial knocking out of teeth, and the blackening of teeth.⁹¹ It is highly unfortunate that so much of our knowledge of

Gouwu culture in particular and Bai Yue culture in general is derived from Chinese sources. This results in considerable vagueness, not least because outsiders condemned many of these customs as the acts of barbarians while completely ignoring the nuances, which they considered unimportant distinctions. Consequently, very little concrete knowledge of the culture of the Gouwu people can be gained from ancient sources. Nevertheless, the strategic importance of Gouwu territory did not escape Chinese chroniclers. The location of the kingdom of Wu was crucial to dominating cultural and commercial exchange between the Bai Yue peoples and the Central States of the Zhou confederacy. Some scholars have argued that the location of the city of Suzhou was determined by the need to control access routes for interaction between these two important cultural and economic blocs.⁹² Much of the history of this ancient kingdom was also determined by the fact that the Gouwu lay at the crossroads between the Hua-Xia and Bai Yue cultures.

Considerable debate remains over the ethnic identity of the Wu royal family. It is certainly the case that by the time of the late Spring and Autumn period (when it was politically expedient to do so), the Wu claimed to be members of a senior branch of the Zhou ruling house, descendants of Wu Taibo and Zhongyong, who left the realm in order that their younger brother could succeed to the title and eventually that his son could become King Wen of Zhou (r. 1056–1050 BCE), the founder of the dynasty. There is every reason to be suspicious of this claim. Given that the monarchs of Wu were hoping not only to have their kingdom recognized as an integral part of the Zhou confederacy but also to be able to impose their will on other feudal lords, it was extremely useful to assert that they belonged to the most senior branch of the ruling house after the king himself. It is striking that King Shoumeng, the first monarch of Wu to come to the attention of the record-keepers of the Central States, is said to have been extremely modest about his background and accepted the designation “barbarian,” whereas his more powerful descendants, particularly the last two kings of Wu, were determined to make themselves respected and feared by their peers in the Zhou confederacy.⁹³ It is not clear to what extent their claims were genuinely accepted at the time, but ancient Chinese historical records certainly suggest that King Helü and King Fuchai were spoken of as members of the Ji ruling house.

The Gouwu, as the northernmost branch of the Bai Yue, were also the most heavily sinicized. It is not at all clear to what degree this affected the ordinary inhabitants of the kingdom, but there is considerable evidence that

the ruling elite were well versed in the cultural heritage of the Central States. The ruling elite of the Gouwu was not unique in this; the same is true of Chu, another major non-Chinese southern kingdom in direct contact with the Zhou.⁹⁴ The texts of inscribed bronzes such as the *Basin of King Guang of Wu* (Wuwang Guang jian) offers evidence that the kings of Wu were clearly conversant with the niceties of social practice at the highest levels of Central States society. This particular bronze object was part of a set of vessels made by King Helü of Wu on the occasion of the marriage of a princess of the royal family into the ruling house of Cai. (This wedding is not recorded in any ancient text.) The inscription on this bronze is identical in format to those found on many contemporaneous Eastern Zhou dynasty objects, indicating that the ruling house of the kingdom of Wu was well aware of the conventions governing the production of such things. Likewise, there are a number of points of interest concerning this inscription, such as the fact that the king of Wu gives his name as “Guang”—a single-character Chinese-style name—rather than the obviously foreign-looking “Helü.” However, the fact that this object was made as part of the princess’s dowry means that it suggests more about how the Wu royal house wished to present itself to Zhou confederacy states than attests to the high degree of sinicization among the general population. The text of this inscription reads:

In the Fifth lunar month, First Auspiciousness, the first Geng day [of the Jishengba] phase of the moon, King Guang of Wu selected his auspicious metal, copper and tin, in order to make this ritual vessel, a sacrificial basin, for the younger Lady Ji, named Siyu. May she use it for feasting, and may she use it for filial sacrifices. May she have felicitous longevity without end. May the younger Lady Ji use it with respect. Later on, may the grandsons of her grandsons never forget!⁹⁵

The Yue royal house, which governed Suzhou and the surrounding region from 473 to around 330 BCE, though it was another branch of the Bai Yue peoples, was significantly less sinicized than the royal house of Wu. It is not at all clear how the conquest of the kingdom of Wu affected the ethnic composition of the region. Although the kingdoms of Wu and Yue had been enemies for many generations, they represent two branches of the same non-Chinese people, and in antiquity, their cultures were indistinguishable.⁹⁶ Although they experienced some cultural divergence during the Zhou dynasty, concrete evidence of, for example, significant linguistic

divergence is negligible. One significant effect of the conquest was political—the rulers of the kingdom of Yue seem to have implemented a policy of isolationism vis-à-vis the states of the Zhou confederacy to the north, and this must have resulted in a significant change in the ambience of a hitherto extremely cosmopolitan city like Suzhou. The Yue kings seem to have been totally uninterested in maintaining diplomatic links with the Central States or engaging in military campaigns against them. Although King Goujian of Yue was apparently invested as the last hegemon of the Spring and Autumn period by the Zhou king at the time of the conquest of Wu, this was the last important appearance of a Yue king on the international stage. Furthermore, King Goujian returned large tracts of territory that Wu had conquered to their original rulers.⁹⁷ This may have reflected his concerns regarding the difficulties of governing a large, ethnically diverse, and restive population, but it may equally have been a pragmatic move, buying off powerful enemies and allowing his state to preserve its isolationist position.

Although the majority of the Wu ruling elite seems to have been either killed off or forced into exile at the time of the conquest in 473 BCE, leaving only a handful of minor princelings to found lineages that would play little part in the history of Suzhou and the surrounding region, the same is not true of the Yue royal house.⁹⁸ Individuals claiming descent from King Goujian of Yue would continue to play a significant role in the development of the region well into the imperial era. The Mei family, descended from Mei Juan, who was invested with the title Marquis of Tai (Taihou) by Han Gaozu, the founder of the dynasty, would continue to be recognized as one of the elite families of the Jiangnan region until at least the time of the Song dynasty.⁹⁹ The success of families such as the Mei in preserving their status through wars, uprisings, invasions, dynastic collapse, and chaos not only argues for exceptional survival skills among their members over the course of many generations but also suggests that some Yue clans were so deeply entrenched in the region that it was easier to simply assimilate them into successive power structures than to try and eliminate them.

By the end of the Han dynasty, four main aristocratic families dominated the Suzhou region: they were known as the Four Lineages, or Sixing—Zhang, Zhu, Lu, and Gu.¹⁰⁰ Though there were also various other important clans at the time, these four families would form a mutually supportive network and were noted for their tradition of scholarship and service to the state. As these clans were members of the local, as opposed to national, elite, their rise to positions of power is not well recorded. The Zhang, Zhu, and Lu families are

all said to have been descended from immigrants to the Wu region during the Han dynasty. The precise number of immigrants who moved to Suzhou and the surrounding area during this time remains controversial; there is a great deal of circumstantial evidence but few hard facts.¹⁰¹ The situation of the fourth great lineage, the Gu family, was somewhat different. It claimed descent from a son of King Goujian born to a non-noble mother and asserted a link to the city of Suzhou since the time of the Yue conquest. All the clans in the Four Lineages were descendants of families who had been established in the area for many generations and had a distinguished history of service to the Han dynasty, which would stand them in good stead during the Age of Disunion. (Among the Four Lineages, the Zhu family is unusual in having been based in Suzhou for merely a couple of centuries. They shared their more recent arrival with some of the more minor aristocratic clans of the era such as the Fan family, which traced its descent from Fan Fu, Marquis of Zhi, who also moved to the region during the political upheaval surrounding the Wang Mang interregnum.)¹⁰² From the end of the Han dynasty and throughout the Age of Disunion, these four clans dominated the government of the region; indeed, the stability of the Three Kingdoms era Wu dynasty was largely guaranteed by deals struck between the Four Lineages and the Sun family—not least through marriage alliances contracted with the Lu and Zhu clans.¹⁰³ Given their historical importance, members of these four main aristocratic clans, as well as some of their lesser satellite families, feature prominently in the gazetteers for Suzhou of the early imperial era.

During the Age of Disunion, the local aristocratic clans in Suzhou would be joined by a couple of immigrant families, in particular, representatives of the Wang clan from Langya (in what is now Shandong) and the Xie clan from Chen Commandery (also occasionally given as Yangxia).¹⁰⁴ Forced southward by political upheavals accompanying the collapse of the Han dynasty, these important families would play a crucial role both in the cultural life of the region and in its government. The Wang family of Langya in particular would continue to play a vital political role throughout the Age of Disunion and well into the Tang dynasty, although its power waxed and waned; many members of this extensive clan would hold high office, and numerous empresses were drawn from its ranks. There remains considerable argument among scholars concerning the level of sinicization that resulted from immigration from the north at the time of the Northern and Southern Dynasties. Some argue that during this era, the Wu region was heavily influenced by mainstream Chinese culture, which swamped the remnants of the

indigenous civilization; others suggest that sinicization was limited to a few elite immigrant families who resolutely retained their northern Chinese cultural identity while the majority of other migrants were quickly assimilated into the Wu mode of life.¹⁰⁵ Scholars who favor the latter view generally tend to assert that full sinicization of the population of the Wu region did not occur until the avalanche of refugees at the time the Tang dynasty collapsed, or perhaps even as late as the fall of the Northern Song.

The imperial houses of the Sui and Tang dynasties traced their lineage back to the Turkic Xianbei invaders of the Age of Disunion. There is no evidence that the ethnic and cultural background of the ruling house had any marked influence on the culture of the provincial cities under its control; however, court patronage of Buddhism did result in the construction of a number of new buildings and the beautification of others. This cannot be regarded as an ethnic issue. Many Chinese ruling houses were as staunchly Buddhist as were the imperial clans of the Sui and Tang dynasties. Of much greater significance for the long-term development of the city of Suzhou is the role of locals and officials appointed to this region during the Tang dynasty in the development of a strong cultural identity specific to Wu. The image constructed in Tang dynasty poetry of Suzhou as both a site of considerable historical interest and a beautiful and wealthy metropolis would prove to be a remarkably pervasive legacy. Right up to the present day, the visions conjured up by Tang poets of the decadence of King Fuchai of Wu's court, the luxury of the palace buildings, and the beauty of the city crisscrossed with canals have served to define popular perceptions of Suzhou, not to mention contemporaneous images of bustling markets and waterways crowded with boats, lovely local women, temples wreathed in incense, silver canals bounding the pleasure gardens of the rich, and neglected historic sites overgrown with brambles awaiting the intrepid explorer. Renzo Dubbini, in *Geography of the Gaze*, his study of European architecture and its representation in art, notes: "If landscape is a result of human labor, the image that effectively captures its characteristics and identifies its essential lines is a document that reveals a given society's aspirations and its ability to transform the environment."¹⁰⁶

Suzhou's image is found in the poetry of the Tang dynasty, which records the ability of the local people to take a large area of swamp and transform it into a city of great wealth and beauty. Furthermore, it is in these works of literature that the glamorous image of the ancient kingdom of Wu was refined and crystallized. A truly vast body of literature concerning the city

of Suzhou and the surrounding area was produced during the imperial era, but that written during the Tang dynasty is the most characteristic, the most definitive, crucial for later constructions of local identity and image for both residents and visitors. It is also significant that some of the most famous verse of many of the finest poets of the Tang dynasty is about the Wu region. For example, in “Crow Roosting Song” (Wuqi qu), Li Bai (701–762) considers the luxurious and decadent life of the final monarch of the ancient kingdom of Wu, King Fuchai, and his beloved Xi Shi:

Above the Gusu Tower as the crows come to roost,
Inside the palace of the king of Wu, Xi Shi gets drunk.
Before the performance of Wu song and Chu dance is over,
The verdant mountains are about to swallow half the sun.
As the silver arrow sinks within the golden clepsydra, many moments drip away,
They arise to see the autumn moon sinking into the river’s waves,
As [the sun] gradually rises in the east, where will they seek pleasure next?¹⁰⁷

Where the Li Bai poem turns back to a vision of the glorious past of the kingdom of Wu, describing the denizens of the royal palace enjoying a life of pleasure, Bai Juyi (772–846) spoke of the beauties of the city he knew when he served as prefect of Suzhou in his poem “Wandering at Leisure on the Third Day of the First Lunar Month” (Zhengyue sanri xianxing). This famous poem stresses the riverine nature of the city through repeated references to the waters that flowed through the canals crisscrossing Suzhou. Although many subsequent visitors would be much disappointed to find that the brightly painted red wooden railings along each bridge had been replaced with stone in the Song dynasty, the charming and bright depiction of the beautiful Tang dynasty city, filled with birds and trees, is preserved in this poem:

By the entrance to Golden Oriole Lane the greenfinches try to sing;
At the head of the canal, by Lucky Magpie [Bridge], the ice still holds fast.
The emerald waves lap to east and west—the waters flow north-south;
Vermilion railings [frame] 390 bridges.
The mandarin ducks ripple the waters with their two pairs of wings;
The willows and the weeping willows knit their myriad branches together.
If you ask if the spring winds will come early or late,
[Then I would say they blew] from yesterday until this morning.¹⁰⁸

These two poems exemplify perhaps the two most important modes of representing the ancient city of Suzhou. Of the three gazetteers translated in this book, *Supplementary Records to the “Illustrated Guide to Wu Commandery”* is by far the most sensitive to the literary legacy of the Wu region, and many key works of Tang dynasty poetry are either quoted or referred to in this text. However, even the most pedestrian of gazetteer writers, when given the task of describing the city of Suzhou, could hardly fail to take account of the numerous important writings on the subject in Tang dynasty poetry, which presents the city at its best.

With the collapse of the Tang dynasty, southern China, including Suzhou, received a deluge of refugees from the northern parts of the empire, fleeing natural disasters and the concomitant rise in banditry followed by civil war as the Tang realm was ripped apart. The details of this change remain largely obscure; for example, it is unclear quite how many people were involved. For individuals of prominence—officials, examination-degree holders, members of gentry families, and so on—their move to southern China tends to be recorded. The same is true in instances of later descendants achieving fame. For example, the Tang dynasty ancestors of the distinguished Northern Song statesman Fan Zhongyan, senior government officials themselves, were based in Chang’an until the end of the dynasty, when the social disruption of this turbulent era forced them to seek safety in Wu County.¹⁰⁹ A similar tale is told of the Tang dynasty poet Pi Rixiu (c. 834–883, *jinshi* 867), a native of the city of Xianyang, who originally came to Suzhou in 868 to take up an official position. Due to the disruption caused by the rebellion of Huang Chao (d. 884), he eventually decided that he had no choice but to retire there rather than attempting to return to his home. This decision no doubt greatly benefited his family; Pi Rixiu’s great-grandson Pi Ziliang (968–1014) would eventually become chancellor of the kingdom of Wuyue.¹¹⁰ The grandfather of the Wuyue dynasty general Tu Guizhi (851–902) was another immigrant who arrived at around the same time. This family, who claimed descent from the Jin dynasty general Tu Ji (fl. 632), had moved to Haiyan County in Wu Commandery in order to escape the chaos of civil war.¹¹¹

Civil and military officials who moved south (with or without their families) are comparatively well documented. In some cases, the rebel armies, having arrived in the south on campaign, ended up changing sides and staying behind. This was the case with the troops under the command of Sun Ru. Once their commander was dead, many of his officers and men simply transferred their allegiance to the first king of the Wuyue dynasty, who

incorporated them into his central army.¹¹² In contrast, the vast majority of refugees who made their way to the south went undocumented.¹¹³ They do, however, appear in the census records of the Song dynasty, which distinguished between native and newcomer families.

In 1127, the Jurchen launched their successful invasion of northern China. The Northern Song dynasty collapsed, and a new regime was founded in the south, its capital at Lin'an (modern-day Hangzhou). During the fraught years that followed the loss of the north, the Jurchen Jin dynasty launched repeated attacks on the Jiangnan region; in 1130, the city of Suzhou fell to its forces and was comprehensively sacked. The memory of these traumatic events would be recorded by those who survived: "On the twenty-fourth day [of the second lunar month] (4 April 1130), there was a great gathering below the city walls, and everywhere you looked there were people trying to run away under the cover of darkness. The Jin people then captured the city, burning and pillaging. A vast number of people died; the whole city was dead and empty."¹¹⁴

It took decades to rebuild after the destruction and loss of life that accompanied the Jurchen sack of Suzhou. The majority of the work was carried out in three phases. The first occurred in the immediate aftermath, when the Song emperor Gaozong (r. 1127–1162) toured the city and ordered the construction of a palace complex inside the citadel. This work was completed in 1133, and the emperor was periodically resident in the Traveling Palace (Xinggong) until 1137, when he gave orders that it be converted into government offices.¹¹⁵ The second and more important phase of reconstruction occurred during the Chunxi reign era (1174–1189) of the Song emperor Xiaozong (r. 1162–1189), with the reconstruction of the city walls, dredging of the moats, and so on. The third phase occurred some thirty years later during the Jiading reign era (1208–1224) of the emperor Ningzong (r. 1168–1224).¹¹⁶ Due to the hasty and perfunctory nature of the work carried out in the second phase, many of the earlier repairs had to be redone. The destruction of the city caused by the Jurchen has often been underemphasized, apparently because of the "Map of Pingjiang," carved in 1229, which commemorates the completion of the restoration under Song Ningzong that was widely held to have made Suzhou the finest city in the region. However, the fact that the city had largely recovered by that time does not mean that it had not been devastated by the Jurchen attack a century earlier.

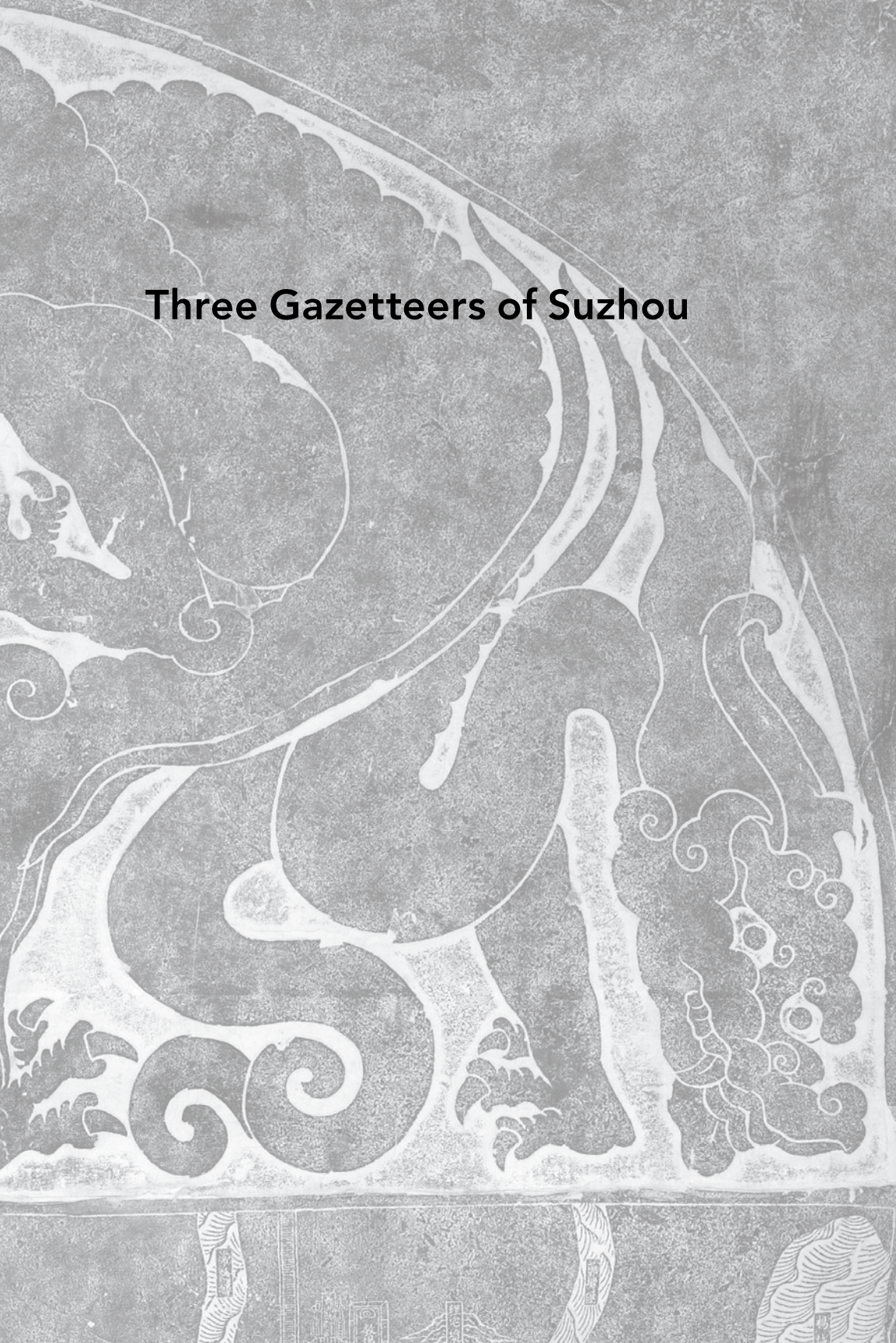
In the wake of the Jurchen sack of the city, many sites in and around Suzhou would acquire new meanings, framed by the traumatic events that

had occurred. *What Yi Jian Recorded* (Yi Jian zhi) by Hong Mai (1123–1202) describes the ghosts that came to haunt one of Suzhou's most famous gardens. In the time of the Wuyue dynasty, the Southern Garden was the site of the King of Guangling's beautiful pleasure gardens. The section that survived into the Song dynasty was renamed Blue Wave Pavilion (Canglang ting). Once owned by the famous poet Su Shunqin (1008–1048), it was one of the first literati gardens, praised by many of the greatest poets of the age in verse that is still remembered today. However, after the Jurchen invasion, with its destruction and massacres of innocent people, later residents of this famous garden found themselves troubled by nightly visions of the dead:

At the time that the Jin people entered [the city] to plunder it, people broke into the back garden and hid there, but they were all killed at this pond. For this reason, residents suffered great trauma. Later on, Mr. Han [Shizhong (1089–1151)] lived there, and every moonlit night he would see several hundred people rise from the depths of the water. Some were Buddhist monks, some were Daoist priests, some were women, and some were merchants.¹¹⁷

Although a new city would rise from the embers of the old, rebuilt within the ancient walls of Suzhou, it would be a different place from the city described in earlier accounts. Just as Lord Chunshen's fief rose from the ashes of the capital of the kings of Wu, or Tang dynasty Suzhou recovered from the devastation inflicted by Wang Ying, the beautiful city that existed in late imperial China was constructed on the ruins of the glamorous, wealthy, and cosmopolitan metropolis that is now known only from records that survive from before the fall of the Northern Song.

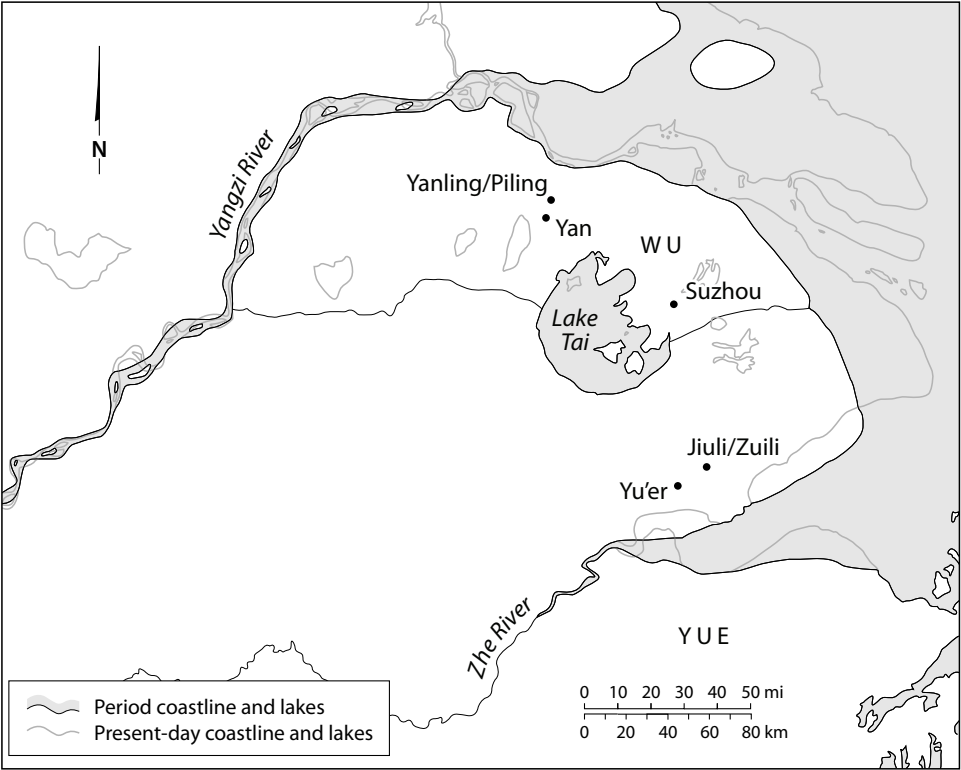
Three Gazetteers of Suzhou



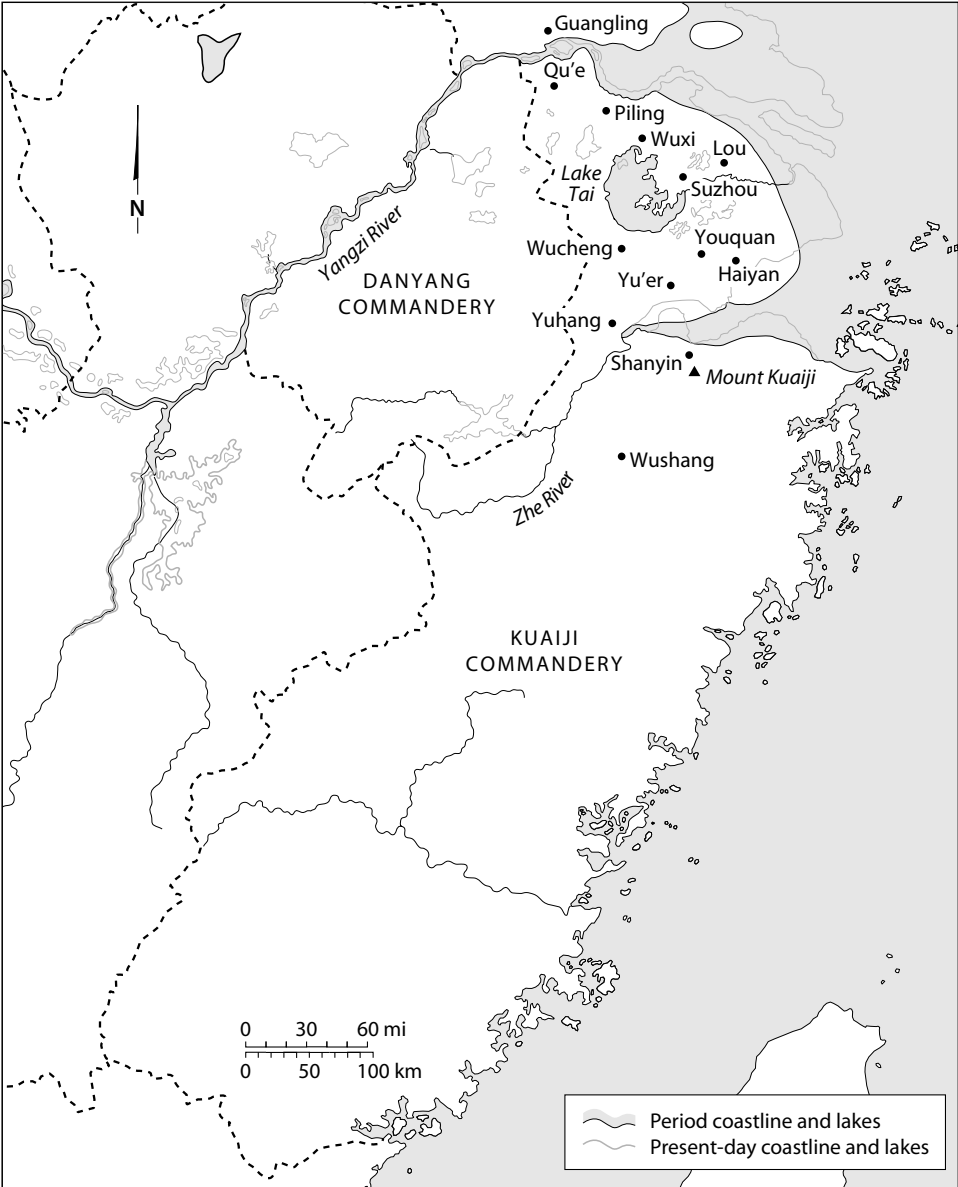
Tales of the Lands of Wu

TALES of the Lands of Wu is one of the earliest known examples of a gazetteer-style text in China and forms the second fascicle of the *Lost Histories of Yue*. The *Lost Histories of Yue* is frequently described as the first gazetteer ever to have been written in China on the basis of two fascicles: *Tales of the Lands of Wu* and *Tales of the Lands of Yue*.¹ Between them, these two texts contain a wealth of information about the architectural and cultural history of the kingdoms of Wu and Yue. This has proved a great boon for historians and archaeologists attempting to understand excavation sites from these under-documented kingdoms. However, there are important differences between the two texts. On the one hand, *Tales of the Lands of Wu* concentrates largely on the laying-out of the capital, modern-day Suzhou, a city designed to rival in grandeur and size anything to be found in the Central States, which was built some twenty years before the Yue capital.² Considerable detail is given, including descriptions of many structures that stood inside the city walls, such as palaces, gates, the market, roads, and canals. *Tales of the Lands of Yue*, on the other hand, describes the kingdom as a whole, with description of the architecture of the capital forming a comparatively minor element.

Tales of the Lands of Wu and *Tales of the Lands of Yue* are unique in ancient Chinese literature on urban history. There are earlier texts, such as “Announcement at Luo” (Luogao) in the *Book of Documents* (Shangshu) and “Famous Is King Wen” (Wenwang you sheng) in the *Book of Songs* (Shijing), that focus on the important ceremonies to be carried out when a new city is laid out.³ These very ancient accounts provide but little information on what was built because the ritual significance of the occasion was predominant. The earliest surviving text on Chinese town planning, the “Record of Artificers” chapter in the *Rites of Zhou*, describes the principles for laying out a city.⁴ In specifying the proportions for a harmonious city and listing the



MAP 1. The Kingdom of Wu in the Spring and Autumn Period



MAP 2. Kuaiji Commandery in the Han dynasty



MAP 3. Suzhou in the Han dynasty. All locations indicated on this map have either been confirmed by archaeological excavations or are extant at present.

key religious and administrative buildings to be contained within its walls, “Record of Artificers” was extremely important for establishing the ideal of a proper Chinese city and proved enormously influential in later urban design.⁵ The relationship between the layout of an ideal city as described in “Record of Artificers” and the design of the city of Suzhou has been the subject of a great deal of modern scholarship and will be considered in depth in the concluding chapter of this book.

Tales of the Lands of Wu and *Tales of the Lands of Yue* are also not closely related to contemporaneous Han dynasty literature on historical geography. In *Tales of the Lands of Wu*, the history of the place is fundamentally tied to its architecture and design. Virtually every entry gives the name of one or more historical individuals, linking each site to key events in the history of the region.

AUTHORSHIP AND DATING

The *Lost Histories of Yue* is a heterogeneous collection of essays, compiled at the very beginning of the Eastern Han dynasty. It is a privately produced text, unlike many other surviving ancient texts, which were either written for a king or emperor, edited by imperial librarians, or compiled from state archives.⁶ The earliest references to the *Lost Histories of Yue* are in imperial library catalogs dating to the Sui and Tang dynasties, which describe a book in sixteen fascicles attributed to Zigong, a disciple of Confucius who was also an extremely successful merchant.⁷ In the Liang dynasty (907–923), authorship was reattributed to the famous minister Wu Zixu. As early as the Tang dynasty, however, Sima Zhen (fl. early eighth century) had noted that the *Lost Histories of Yue* made reference to events that occurred long after the destruction of Wu in 473 BCE and the conquest of Yue by the kingdom of Chu in the Warring States era, and so he rejected the attribution of this text to Zigong or indeed any other figure of the Spring and Autumn period.⁸ In the Song dynasty, Chen Zhensun (c. 1190–after 1249) was the first scholar to propose a two-stage process of composition for this book, suggesting that the bulk of the *Lost Histories of Yue* was written after the end of the Warring States period, then revised and expanded in the Han dynasty.⁹ The theory of multistage composition is now generally accepted, though scholars assign different dates to the book’s phases of assembly.

In the Ming dynasty, the compilers of the *Lost Histories of Yue* were finally identified as two otherwise unknown scholars—Yuan Kang and Wu Ping—

on the basis of a riddle in the last chapter of the book. A number of modern scholars claim that it was Yang Shen (1488–1599) who solved the riddle, but although he discusses the solution in *Miscellaneous Records of Cinnabar and Lead* (Danqian zalu), he does not claim to have accomplished it himself.¹⁰ Initially, Yang Shen suggested that Yuan Kang and Wu Ping lived during the late Eastern Han dynasty but later changed his mind and proposed a date of composition for the *Lost Histories of Yue* at the very beginning of the Eastern Han. This change seems to have been based on his reading of *Doctrines Weighed* (Lunheng), which refers to a book called *Historical Records from Yue* (Yueniu lu), attributed to an individual named Wu Jungao from Kuaiji. In the same passage, Yuan Taibo from Linhuai and Wu Jungao are both described as “heroes of literature and refined culture” (*wenya zhi yingxiong*).¹¹ Yang Shen assumed that the names Taibo and Jungao were the style names of Yuan Kang and Wu Ping and hence that this book was compiled by earlier contemporaries of Wang Chong’s (27–97 CE). The attribution to Yuan Kang and Wu Ping has been accepted by all modern scholars working on the *Lost Histories of Yue*. However, while the compilers’ identities are now known, the authorship of the individual chapters in the *Lost Histories of Yue* remains mysterious, as all the texts assembled in this book are anonymous. The *Lost Histories of Yue* is therefore best understood as an anthology assembled by a pair of local scholars interested in preserving records related, however tangentially, to the history and culture of the ancient kingdoms of Wu and Yue.

The composition of *Tales of the Lands of Wu* and the compilation of the *Lost Histories of Yue* have traditionally been dated to 52 CE. This date is derived from the section in *Tales of the Lands of Wu* that describes political changes in this kingdom from the reign of King Goujian of Yue to the end of the Western Han dynasty:

Some 240 years after King Goujian of Yue moved the capital to Langya, King Kaolie of Chu (r. 262–236 BCE) united the Yue at Langya. More than 40 years later, Qin conquered Chu. Another 40 years after that, Han conquered Qin, and that was 242 years ago. From the time when King Goujian moved the capital to Langya to the twenty-eighth year of the Jianwu reign era (52 CE) is 567 years in all.¹²

According to the *Bamboo Annals* (Zhushu jinian), the only other ancient text to mention these events in any detail, King Goujian of Yue moved his

capital to Langya in 468 BCE.¹³ Therefore, while the twenty-eighth year of the Jianwu reign era is certainly 52 CE, the math in this passage is consistently faulty. For example, the Qin conquest of Chu took place in 223 BCE. The date on which King Kaolie of Chu “united the Yue at Langya” is not known, but given the dates of his reign, it must have been between 39 and 13 years before the conquest by Qin, not more than 40. Likewise, the Qin dynasty lasted 15 years, not 40, and 242 years after the founding of the Han dynasty is 36 BCE, not 52 BCE. It is also only 520 years, not 567, between the date that King Goujian supposedly moved his capital to Langya and the twenty-eighth year of the Jianwu reign era. To make matters worse, all of the early Eastern Han dates given in *Tales of the Lands of Wu* are faulty in some way. For example, one entry reads: “In the Great Hall of the prefect’s mansion, there is a carved stone set up there by the First Emperor of Qin. In the first year of the Gengshi reign era (23 CE), this place was burned down while Prefect Xu was in office. On Yimao day for the twelfth lunar month of the sixth year [of this reign era], they dug a pond here.”¹⁴ The Gengshi reign era actually lasted only two years. It is possible that the text is corrupt at this point, and in fact another reign era was intended.

Likewise, in the next example from *Tales of the Lands of Wu*, the date given is demonstrably wrong: “In the fourth month of the fifth year of the Tianhan reign era, the little mountains along the Qiantang Zhe River disappeared. By the seventh year, they had reappeared again.”¹⁵ There were only four years in the Tianhan reign era (100–97 BCE). Originally, *Tales of the Lands of Wu* apparently contained a considerable amount of extraneous information, much later in date than the early Eastern Han dynasty, which was subsequently pruned from the text as later interpolations. This revision removed all textual material that could clearly be dated to after the twenty-eighth year of the Jianwu reign era.¹⁶ The decision to remove all clear references to events after 52 CE is an editorial intervention made by an unknown scholar rather than absolute evidence of the date of composition.

INTERPRETING *TALES OF THE LANDS OF WU*

In its original state, *Tales of the Lands of Wu* was probably a carefully structured text, though interpolations and textual corruption have served to somewhat obscure this. Almost every entry in the text begins with a title, which is the name of a place or building. In some cases, this clause is grammatically related to the next sentence, but in others, it simply functions as a

title. In many instances, the title ends with the particle *-zhe*. In the translation that follows, the title of each section is in bold. The text that follows gives information about the landscape feature or building, often relating it to important events in the history of the kingdom of Wu and describing dimensions and distance from the county, although, crucially, the direction is never provided, as in the following example: “**The Tomb of Mo Ge**, north of Tiger Hill. This is the grave of a wise hermit of old and stands 20 *li* from the county.”¹⁷

In both *Tales of the Lands of Wu* and *Tales of the Lands of Yue*, a certain amount of extraneous information has been incorporated. The amount and nature of the interpolations made to *Tales of the Lands of Wu* have been much disputed. For example, it has been suggested that the first line of this chapter was taken from the lost “Great Earl” (Taibo) chapter of the *Lost Histories of Yue*,¹⁸ an opinion based on the similarity between the beginning of *Record of the Lands of Wu* and other chapters in the core text: “Once upon a time, the Great Earl, who was the first lord of Wu, was a member of the Zhou royal family. King Wu [of Zhou] enfeoffed the Great Earl in Wu, and from his reign to that of Fuchai was twenty-six generations in all, and more than one thousand years.”¹⁹

Another section that may well be an interpolation is the description of the king of Wu’s pleasures. Although this part of the text contains many place-names, it does not have the same structure as the other entries in *Tales of the Lands of Wu* and most likely represents a single bamboo strip that originally formed part of some other text and was included in this chapter by mistake: “In the autumn and winter, the seat of government was inside the city walls; in the spring and summer, the seat of government was at Guxu (or Gusu) Tower. In the mornings, [the king] ate breakfast at Mount Niu; in the evenings, he traveled to Xumu. He went shooting at Archery Bank and raced his horses at Travelers’ Tower, while he enjoyed music at Stone Walled City [Shicheng]. He also raced his dogs at Long Island.”²⁰

In addition, there is one section (concerning the Eastern Palace or Dong Gong, located inside the citadel in the capital city, which burned to the ground during the Qin dynasty) in which part of the same entry, presumably originally written on a different bamboo strip, has become slightly displaced. In the translation given below, this displacement is marked with a †, indicating the section that has lost its final element, and then the text that should appear there. Although there is an argument for reuniting the two sections, the translation follows the order of the original Chinese text.

Tales of the Lands of Wu begins with a discussion of the architecture of the capital city, referring to the building of walls and gates, canals, and palaces. This is followed by a description of important mortuary sites around the capital, with particular reference to royal tombs. Then there is a discussion of suburban structures, including subordinate walled settlements, tombs, polders, mountains, and so on. A description of the lakes and mountains of the kingdom as a whole follows. The text concludes with an account of the developments completed by Lord Chunshen and his son when they held the former Wu capital as their fief, and, finally, there are references to developments during the Han dynasty. This part of the text should probably be seen as an updating of the core text. The interests of the authors of this text are consistently fixed on government and official buildings and other subjects relevant only to administrators.

TALES OF THE LANDS OF WU

Once upon a time, Taibo, who was the first lord of Wu, was a member of the Zhou royal family. King Wu [of Zhou] enfeoffed Taibo in Wu,²¹ and from his reign to that of Fuchai was twenty-six generations in all, and more than one thousand years.²² During the reign of [King] Helü, he became the hegemon and built Wucheng [Wu Walled City].²³ Inside the walls, there were two citadels. He moved the seat of government to Mount Xu.²⁴ Two generations later, we come to Fuchai, who ruled for twenty-three years.²⁵ King Goujian of Yue then destroyed [this kingdom].

King Helü's Palace [Helü Gong] was located at Gaoping Village.

Archery Towers [Shetai]. There were two of these: one at Huachichang Village and the other at Anyang Village.

Southern Yue Palace [Nanyue Gong] was located at Changle Village. To the east it reached to Lord Chunshen's treasury buildings.

In the autumn and winter, the seat of government was inside the city walls; in the spring and summer, the seat of government was at Guxu Tower.²⁶ In the mornings, [the king] ate breakfast at Mount Niu; in the evenings, he traveled to Xumu.²⁷ He went shooting at Archery Bank and raced his horses at Travelers' Tower, while he enjoyed music at Stone Walled City.²⁸ He also raced his dogs at Long Island.²⁹

The king of Wu was hegemon in the time of King Zhao of Chu [r. 515–489 BCE] and Confucius [traditional dates 551–479 BCE].

The Main City Wall of Wu is 47 *li*, 210 *bu*, and 2 *chi* [19.8 km] in circum-

ference.³⁰ There are eight land gates, and two of them have battlements. There are eight water gates. The southern wall is 10 *li*, 42 *bu*, and 5 *chi* [4.2 km] long. The west wall is 7 *li*, 112 *bu*, and 3 *chi* [3.07 km] long. The north wall is 8 *li*, 226 *bu*, and 3 *chi* [3.6 km] long. The east wall is 11 *li*, 79 *bu*, and 1 *chi* [4.68 km] long. It was constructed by Helü.³¹ The outer city wall of Wu is 68 *li*, 60 *bu* [29.61 km] in circumference.³²

The Citadel of Wu is 12 *li* [4.98 km] in circumference.³³ The base of the wall is 2 *zhang* and 7 *chi* [6.24 m] wide, and it is 4 *zhang* and 7 *chi* [10.86 m] high. There are three gates, and all of them have battlements. Two of them also have two additional water gates, whereby one has a battlement, and one has a wooden road.³⁴

The Eastern Palace [Dong Gong] is 1 *li* and 270 *bu* [760 m] in circumference.^{35†}

The road from the Western Palace [Xi Gong] goes to Changqiu, and it is 1 *li* and 26 *bu* [498 m] in circumference.³⁶

†In the eleventh year of the reign of the First Emperor of Qin [236 BCE], the palace guards were lighting lamps for a party and lost control of the fire, and the place was burned to the ground.

The Walled City of Wu Zixu is 9 *li* and 270 *bu* [4.1 km] in circumference.

[The next line of the text is so corrupt as to be incomprehensible.]

The City's Central Highway runs from the Heavenly Gate [Changmen] to Lou Gate [Loumen] and is 9 *li* and 72 *bu* [3.8 km] long.³⁷ The highway is 23 *bu* [32.6 m] across.

[The road] from Pacification Gate [Pingmen] to Snake Gate [Shemen] is 10 *li* and 75 *bu* [4.2 km] long.³⁸ This highway is 33 *bu* [46.8 m] wide. The canal is 28 *bu* [39.7 m] wide.³⁹

The Old Wu Road leaves [the city] by Xu Gate [Xumen] and passes by Mount Tu.⁴⁰ Then it crosses through Water Town and goes on to [Mount] Gaojing before going past Mount You.⁴¹ [The road then] goes to Lake Tai and then on; skirting [Mount] Beigu, it turns west, crossing the Yangxia Stream.⁴² Then [the highway] goes past the south side of Mount Li and the great gulf west of Longwei, before arriving at Lake An.

The Old Wu Waterway leaves [the city] from Pacification Gate by the moat at the outer city wall; then it drains into a canal, which exits into Lake Chao. From there, it goes on to Li Territory and passes by Mei Neighborhood, before flowing into Lake Yang. It then exits by Fisherman's Bank and flows into the Yangzi River, which goes on to Guangling.

The Old Wu Wall [begins] at Youquan and runs past Kuaiyi through to Shanyin.⁴³ These defensive walls were established by Wu to form a barrier [to Yue].

Eastern Wu Walled City was an encampment built by Helü on a progress, and it stands 20 *li* [8.3 km] from the county seat.⁴⁴

From Chaisui Township to Yuer and Jiuli, there are battlefields from the time of the Wu invasion [of Yue].⁴⁵

The One Hundred Chi Canal [Baichidu] debouches into the river. Wu used it to transport grain.

The Wastes of Gan Village Forge was the place where Helü forged the Gan Jiang sword.⁴⁶ Ou Ye had three hundred boys and girls [working for him].⁴⁷ It is located 2 *li* [0.83 km] from the county seat, and to the south it reaches to the river.

The Giant Stone Man, East of Mount Gaojing, Outside the Heavenly Gate. People in antiquity called it the “Stone Lord.” It is located 20 *li* [8.3 km] from the county seat.

The Mound Outside the Outer City Wall by the Heavenly Gate was Helü’s icehouse.⁴⁸

Helü’s Tomb stands outside the Heavenly Gate and is called “Tiger Hill” [Huqiu].⁴⁹ [His grave] lies below a pond 60 *bu* [85 m] wide, and the water is 1 *zhang* and 5 *chi* [3.47 m] deep. He was buried inside three bronze coffins, with a lake of mercury 6 *chi* [1.39 m] across on which jade ducks swim. He was buried with three thousand Bianzhu swords and three thousand other objects.⁵⁰ The swords Shihao and Yuchang are also here.⁵¹ Ten million men created this [tomb], piling up earth to the point that it overlooked the lake.⁵² Three days after they had built the tomb, a white tiger appeared above it, and therefore it was called “Tiger Hill.”⁵³

The Tomb of Mo Ge, North of Tiger Hill. This is the grave of a wise hermit of old and stands 20 *li* [8.3 km] from the county seat.

The Tomb of Beizou is the large Deng tomb and stands 40 *li* [16.6 km] from the county seat.

The Tomb of Helü’s Children is located on the road leading north out of the Heavenly Gate.⁵⁴ It is located below a pond 48 *bu* [68 m] across, and the water is 2 *zhang* and 5 *chi* [5.76 m] deep. The pond here is 60 *bu* [85 m] across, and the water is 1 *zhang* and 5 *cun* [2.43 m] deep.⁵⁵ The spirit road leads southward from the temple road and goes on to Guxu Gate. [The tomb] is 6 *li* [2.49 km] in circumference. There were dancing cranes in the Wu marketplace, and they killed the living to serve the dead.⁵⁶

The Walled City of Yuhang. In the time of King Xiang, a goddess was buried here. Her spirit is very numinous.⁵⁷

The Western Walled City of Mi Lake, outside Wu Gate [Wumen], which was the walled city built by King [Mi] of Yue.⁵⁸ At that time, the king of Yue and Lord Song of Zhou were doing battle at Yuzhao, and he killed Lord Song of Zhou. [King Mi of Yue] rode home without a head, and when he arrived at Wu Village, he died. He was buried at the southern walled city of Wu Village. He died on a Wu day.⁵⁹

The Mound Outside Wu Gate was Helü's icehouse.

The Great Tomb Outside Wu Gate is the grave of the king of Wu's client Sun Wu, who came from Qi.⁶⁰ It stands 10 *li* [4.15 km] from the county seat. [Sun Wu] was good at the military arts.

The Crown Prince's Polder Outside the Earth Gate [Dimen].⁶¹ Supposedly this was built by a Yue crown prince in order to allow fields to be established here.⁶² This polder stands 25 *li* [10.38 km] from the county seat.

The Ocean Polder is located 26 *li* [10.79 km] from the county seat.

The Great Hill Outside Snake Gate is the tomb of an unknown king of Wu. It stands 15 *li* [6.23 km] from the county seat.

North Mountain [Beishan] at Zhu Polder is the tomb of an unknown king of Wu.⁶³ It stands 20 *li* [8.3 km] from the county seat.

The Great Hill at Lixiduzhonglian Township outside the Metal Gate [Jinmen] was where in the past Wu buried its shamans.⁶⁴ It stands 15 *li* [6.23 km] from the county seat.

Fu Walled City [Fucheng] at Mating Stream outside Lou Gate was built in antiquity by King Yufujun of Yue.⁶⁵ It stands 80 *li* [33.2 km] from the county seat. The history of this place was recorded from the time of King [Kao]lie [of Chu] [r. 262–238 BCE], who united Yue, until after the reign of King Xiang.⁶⁶ These historical events were recorded at Mating Stream.⁶⁷

Wild Swan Walled City [Hongcheng] outside Lou Gate was the walled city of the kings of Yue. It stands 150 *li* [62.25 km] from the county seat.

The Ruins of Chicken Hill Outside Lou Gate. In the past the king of Wu raised chickens here, and employed Li Bao to look after them. This place is 20 *li* [8.3 km] from the county seat.

The Road with Nine Bends Outside Xu Gate was built by Helü so he could travel to Guxu Tower, in order to gaze over Lake Tai and inspect his populace. It is located 30 *li* [12.45 km] from the county seat.

Qi Gate [Qimen] [was so named] because Helü attacked Qi and won a great victory. He took the daughter of the king of Qi hostage and built Qi

Gate for her. It was constructed on the Wastes of Shuihai. This tower was built on the left of Chedao and on the right of Shuihai and stands 70 *li* [29.05 km] from the county seat. The girl from Qi missed her homeland so much that she died, and they buried her at Mount Yuxi.⁶⁸

The Great Paddy Fields Created in the Northern Wilds of Wu, East of Yuyue, were the fields of the kings of Wu. They stand 80 *li* [33.2 km] from the county seat.

Deer Hill in the Western Wilds of Wu was [the site of] the fields of the kings of Wu. Now they have been divided into the You Canal and the Wastes of Xubei.⁶⁹ It stands 20 *li* [8.3 km] from the county seat.

The Son-in-Law Paddy Fields in the Northern Wilds of Wu were the fields under the control of the sons-in-law of the kings of Wu.⁷⁰ They stand 80 *li* [33.2 km] from the county seat.

Deer Lake Walled City [Mihucheng] was the place where Helü raised deer, and it is located 50 *li* [20.75 km] from the county seat.

Boat Stream Walled City [Lixicheng] was where Helü anchored his boats, and it was founded by Helü.⁷¹

Brave Knights [Lishi] outside Lou Gate was built by Helü in order to defend against the Waiyue people.

Shaman's Boat Walled City [Wulicheng] was built by Helü as a separate residence for visiting ambassadors from the feudal lords.⁷² It stands 15 *li* [6.23 km] from the county seat.

Mount Youzhongqionglong. In the past, Master Red Pine collected cinabar from here, and it stands 20 *li* [8.3 km] from the county seat.⁷³

When Zixu died, people sacrificed to him here.⁷⁴

Mount Zuodui was known as Mount Hefu.⁷⁵ When Yu traveled around the world, he picked up Mount Ke, moved it to Hefu, and changed its name to Zuodui.

Mount Fang stands south of Mount Zuodui. Giants lived below Mount Zuodui, and they gathered together and formed a community called "the Zuo Estate." The king of Wu hated this name and moved the community within the outer city walls, changing the name to Tongling Township.⁷⁶ There is a large stone south of Mount Zuodui, which was known in antiquity as "Fallen Star" [Zhuixing].⁷⁷ It is located 20 *li* [8.3 km] from the county seat.

The Cherishing Aristocrats Mountain [Fuhoushan] was set aside by order of [King] Helü for the burial of members of the aristocracy and stands 20 *li* [8.3 km] from the county seat.

Xu Neighborhood [Xuting] east of Wu has waterways radiating out to east and west and to north and south.⁷⁸ It was constructed by the king of Yue-Jing.⁷⁹ All these streams flow into Lake Mi.

Gan Walled City [Gancheng] stands above Ma'an Stream, and this city was built by the kings of Yue-Gan.⁸⁰ It stands 70 *li* [29.05 km] outside the county seat.

The Great Tomb at Mount Yuan outside Wu Gate was the grave of court historians serving the kings of Yue.⁸¹ It is located 20 *li* [8.3 km] from the county seat.

Yao's Walled City [Yaocheng] was the residence of a prince of Wu, and later on King Yao of Yue lived here.⁸² There are 300 *jing* of paddy fields to the southeast of this city, where the land is rich and fertile and well irrigated. It is located 50 *li* [20.75 km] from the county seat.

The Great Tomb at Xunü is the tomb of an unknown king of Wu. It stands 45 *li* [18.68 km] from the county seat.

The Great Tomb at Pugu is the tomb of an unknown king of Wu. It is located 30 *li* [12.45 km] outside the county seat.

The Old Walled City [Gucheng] was the secondary residence built by King Helü of Wu for his concubines. It stands 70 *li* [29.05 km] outside the county seat.

The Southern Sepulchre [Canal] [Nanling] that runs through to the Yangzi River was dug by [King] Yao of Yue in order to attack Lord Shangshe. It is located 50 *li* [20.75 km] from the county seat.

The Ten Li Canal [Shilikeng] east of the Lou [Gate] was called "Giants Canal" [Changrenkeng] in antiquity, and it connects with the sea. It is located 10 *li* [4.15 km] from the county seat.

Haiyan County was originally called "Wuyuan Township."⁸³

Military Walled City [Wucheng] north of the Lou [Gate] was built by Helü to defend against the Waiyue people. It stands 30 *li* [12.45 km] from the county seat. Today it is a township.

The Army Barracks [Sujia] was where the Wu kept their soldiers to defend against the Waiyue people. It is located 100 *li* [41.5 km] outside the county seat. The great tomb to the east is the grave of King Yao [of Yue].

Wucheng, Yuhang, Yi,⁸⁴ She, Wuhu, and the area south of Shicheng County were all places to which the Dayue moved their people. The First Emperor of China [set up] an engraved stone [that ordered the people] to move.

Mount Chang in Wushang County was where people in antiquity went to collect medicinal herbs. The mountaintop area is very numinous.⁸⁵

Qi Township is 10 *li* and 210 *bu* in circumference, [4.3 km] and the city wall is 6 *li* and 30 *bu* [2.78 km] long. The wall is [1] *zhang* and 2 *chi* [2.8 m] high, 170 *bu* [240 m], with three gates that are booby-trapped.⁸⁶ Two of them have extra battlements.

Mount Yu. This is where Shaman Xian came from.⁸⁷ The ancient spirits of Yu are very mysterious. This place is 105 *li* [43.58 km] from the county seat.

The Highway at Mu Sepulchre [Muling] was built by Prefect Zhou in the third year of the Yangshuo reign era [22 CE], to communicate with Yuzhao. The outer walls [of Yuzhao] are 10 *li* and 110 *bu* [4.3 km] in circumference, and they are [1] *zhang* and 2 *chi* [2.8 m] high. There are four land gates, all of which have battlements, and two water gates.

The Walled City of Wuxi is 2 *li* and 19 *bu* [850 m] in circumference, with walls 2 *zhang* and 7 *chi* [6.23 m] high, and with one gate with four sets of battlements.⁸⁸ The outer city wall is 11 *li* and 128 *bu* [4.75 km] in circumference, with walls 1 *zhang* and 7 *chi* [3.9 m] high, and all the gates have additional battlements.

Mount Li at Wuxi. In the time of Lord Chunshen of Chu, he made a progress here and sacrificed an ox, and he established the Wuxi polder.⁸⁹ It is 120 *li* [49.8 km] from Wu.

Wuxi Lake was controlled with polders by Lord Chunshen, and he dug the Yuzhao Canal to reach the great fields to the east. These fields are called “Xubei.” He dug [a canal] down from Xubei to reach Lake Tai to the south, in order to irrigate the western wilds.⁹⁰ This is 35 *li* [14.53 km] from the county seat.

The Longwei Roadway West of Wuxi was built when Lord Chunshen was first enfeoffed in Wu. It comes under the auspices of Wuxi County and communicates with the Son-in-Law Paddy Fields in the northern wilds of Wu.

Qu’e [County] was formerly Yunyang County.⁹¹

Piling was formerly known as Yanling, and Master Ji of Wu lived here.⁹²

The Southern Walled City of Piling was in antiquity the land of the Lord of Yan.⁹³ The great tomb in the southeast is the grave of the children of the Lord of Yan. It stands 18 *li* [7.47 km] from the county seat. Wu buried them here.

The Central Tomb at Lake Shang [Shanghu] in Piling is the grave of Master Ji of Yanling. It stands 70 *li* [29.05 km] from the county seat. Lake Shang drains into Shang Marsh. In antiquity, the tomb of Master Ji was known as the Wastes of Yanling.

The Great Tomb at Xiajia on the southern face of Mount Zheng is the grave of an unknown king of Yue and stands 35 *li* [14.53 km] from the county seat.

Mount Qinyuhang is where the king of Yue laid siege to Fuchai of Wu. It stands 50 *li* [20.75 km] from the county seat [20.75 km]. This mountain stands beside a lake and is close to Lake Tai.

The Tomb of Fuchai [is located at] Beiyowei, west of Yougao [Neighborhood].⁹⁴ Each of the king of Yue's spearmen brought a basketful of earth to bury him. It is near Lake Tai and stands 17 *li* [7.06 km] from the county seat.

The Triple Tower [Santai] is the place where the wives and children of Prime Minister Pi and Feng Tong died.⁹⁵ It is located 17 *li* [7.06 km] from the county seat.

Lake Tai is 36,000 *jing* in circumference. Wucheng is made up of 1,000 *jing*. It is located 50 *li* [20.75 km] from the county seat.

Lake Wuxi is 15,000 *jing* in circumference. Lake Shang at Piling represents 1,003 *jing* of this. It is 50 *li* [20.75 km] from the county seat. It is also known as Lake Shegui.

Corpse Lake [Shihu] is 2,200 *jing* in circumference and stands 170 *li* [70.55 km] from the county seat.

Little Lake [Xiaohu] is 1,320 *jing* in circumference and is located 100 *li* [41.5 km] from the county seat.

Elder Lake [Qihu] is 65,000 *jing* in circumference and is located 120 *li* [49.8 km] from the county seat.

Carriage Lake [Shenghu] is 500 *jing* in circumference and is located 5 *li* [2.08 km] from the county seat.

Monkey Lake [Youhu] is 320 *jing* in circumference and is located 17 *li* [7.06 km] from the county seat.

Lake Yuzhaohu is 280 *jing* in circumference and is located 50 *li* [20.75 km] from the county seat.

Working Lake is 180 *jing* in circumference, in which many kinds of fish are raised and numerous water plants; it is located 55 *li* [22.83 km] from the county seat.

Lake Kun is 76 *jing* and 1 *mu* in circumference and is located 175 *li* from the county seat [72.63 km]. It is also known by the name Hermit Lake [Yinhu].

Lake Huwang needs further investigation.

Cinnabar Lake [Danhu] needs further investigation.

In antiquity, Wu had shrines dedicated to the River and the Sea east of Tangpu.⁹⁶ A square wall was built on the south side of the river, in order to

take advantage of the morning and evening tides. In ancient times, when Taibo was the ruler of Wu, [he established these sacrifices], and then in the time of Helü, they were discontinued.

Mount Xiaoshu south of Xunü is the site of the tomb of Lord Chunshen's client the Scion of Wei and stands 35 *li* [14.53 km] from the county seat.

White Stone Mountain [Baishishan] used to be known as Mount Xunü. When Lord Chunshen was first enfeoffed in Wu, he came past this place and changed the name to White Stone. It stands 40 *li* [16.6 km] from the county seat.

The New Prefect's Official Residence was built by Lord Chunshen; the rooms against the back wall used to form part of the Peach Summer Palace [Taoxia Gong].

The New Palace was the palace occupied by Lord Chunshen's son when he was viceroy. The rooms of the front hall occupied 17 *zhang* and 5 *chi* [40.4 m] from east to west and 15 *zhang* and 7 *chi* [36.26 m] from north to south. The main room was 4 *zhang* [9.2 m] high, and the [doors] and gutters were [1] *zhang* and 8 *chi* [4.15 m] high.⁹⁷ The rooms of the [rear] hall covered 15 *zhang* [34.65 m] from east to west and 10 *zhang*, 2 *chi*, and 7 *cun* [23.72 m] from north to south.⁹⁸ The doors and gutters were [1] *zhang* and 2 *chi* [2.77 m] high. The eastern treasury was 40 *zhang* and 8 *chi* [94.2 m] from north to south, with a pair of doors on the ground and first floor. The southern [treasury] was 64 *zhang* and 4 *chi* [148.76 m] from east to west, with four doors on the first floor and three doors on the ground floor. The western [treasury] was 42 *zhang* and 9 *chi* [99 m] from north to south and had three doors on the first floor and two on the ground floor. These treasuries occupied an area of 149 *zhang* and 1 *chi* [344.4 m], with eaves 5 *zhang* and 2 *chi* [12 m] high, and gutters 2 *zhang* and 9 *chi* [6.6 m] high. The total circumference [of the New Palace] was 1 *li* and 241 *bu* [756 m]. It was built by Lord Chunshen.

The Two Granaries of Wu were built by Lord Chunshen. The name of [the official in charge of] the western granary was Junshu,⁹⁹ the eastern granary was 1 *li* and 8 *bu* [426 m] in circumference and was later burned to the ground. In the fifth year of the Gengshi reign era, Prefect Li decided to repair the eastern granary so that it could be used as a storehouse under the auspices of the county administration, but this work was not carried out.

The Marketplace in Wu was built by Lord Chunshen. He made a breach in two sections of the city wall, in order to create the marketplace. This is [now] Lake Village.

The Great Gate at Wuzhu Village was built by Lord Chunshen.

Wu Prison, which is 3 *li* [1.25 km] in circumference, was constructed in the time of Lord Chunshen.

Mount Tu was set aside in the time of Lord Chunshen to make a graveyard for the nobility. It stands 16 *li* [6.64 km] from the county seat.

Chu Gate [Chumen] was built by Lord Chunshen. Since it was constructed by Chu people, it became known as Chu Gate.

The Great Tomb at Lu Hill is the graveyard for Lord Chunshen's clients. He was never enthroned [as king of Chu], but they supported him to the end because of his high principles. It stands 10 *li* [4.15 km] from the county seat.

Lord Chunshen was prime minister to King Kaolie of Chu. When King [Kao]lie died, King You was established [r. 237–226 BCE] and enfeoffed Lord Chunshen in Wu. In the third year of his reign [235 BCE], King You appointed Chunshen as prime minister of Chu, and Lord Chunshen personally sent his son to govern Wu as a viceroy. In the eleventh year of his reign [227 BCE], King You summoned the viceroy and killed both him and Lord Chunshen.¹⁰⁰ The two lords had governed Wu for about fourteen years. Sixteen years later, the First Emperor of Qin conquered Chu, and the Bai Yue turned against [their Chu rulers].¹⁰¹ Greater Yue was renamed Shanyin.¹⁰² Lord Chunshen's family name was Huang, and his personal name was Xie.

The Screening Wall Outside Wu Gate. When Lord Chunshen left Wu, the viceroy established this place in memory of his father. It stands 23 *li* [9.55 km] from the county seat.

Wild Duck Heights [Fulingkang] east of Shouchun. This is the tomb in which an ancient king is buried.

King Wei of Chu and King Wujiang of Yue were contemporaries.¹⁰³ King Wei's successor was King [Kao]lie, and his son was King You, who was succeeded by King Huai. King Huai's son was King Qingxiang, and then the First Emperor of Qin destroyed them.¹⁰⁴ The First Emperor of Qin built a highway, which stretched from the existing road to the wall at Youquan. At the same time, he built the Horse Polder, digging deep to create the bank and making a canal that connected with the Qiantang River. The lands of Yue reached to the Zhe River. The First Emperor of Qin sent out criminals condemned to serve on the frontier, and they created a highway from these heights to the Southern Sepulchre Highway, and it was placed under the auspices of the county administration.

In the thirty-seventh year of the reign of the First Emperor of Qin [210 BCE], he destroyed the commanderies, counties, and cities [established by] the feudal lords.

In the Great Hall of the Prefect's Mansion, there is a carved stone set up there by the First Emperor of Qin. In the first year of the Gengshi reign era, this place was burned down while Prefect Xu was in office. On Yimao day for the twelfth lunar month of the sixth year [of this reign era], they dug a pond here, which was 15 *zhang* and 7 *chi* [36.26 m] from east to west, and thirty *zhang* [69.3 m] from north to south.¹⁰⁵

Emperor Gao of the Han dynasty enfeoffed those who were successful in his service, and Liu Jia became king of Jing and held all the lands of Wu.¹⁰⁶ Jia constructed a wall on the western side of the Wu capital, and he named this the Rectifying Mistakes Wall [Dingcuocheng], and it stretched northward from the citadel to Pacification Gate.¹⁰⁷ General Ding was responsible for the construction and maintenance of this wall. In the eleventh year, the king of Huainan rebelled and killed Liu Jia.¹⁰⁸ Ten years later, Emperor Gao[zu] again enfeoffed his older brother's son [Liu] Pi as the king of Wu, with his capital at Guangling. He held all the lands of Wu.¹⁰⁹ He reigned for twenty-one years, and then he traveled east and crossed the river [to visit the city of] Wu, and ten days later, he went home. In the thirty-second year of his reign, he rebelled.¹¹⁰ He went west to Chenliu County, and then he turned back and fled to Danyang before throwing in his lot with the Dongou. The king of Yue's younger brother General Yiwu killed Pi.¹¹¹ The king of Dongou was appointed king of Pengze, and General Yiwu was appointed king of Pingdu.¹¹² [Liu] Pi's father used the style name Zhong.

At the Flat Open Plain East of Loyal Knight Village [Xinshili],¹¹³ outside Artisan's Gate [Jiangmen], there is the ancestral shrine dedicated to [Liu] Pi, king of Wu. [The shrines to] the Great Lord and Emperor Gaozu are located to the west, and [the shrine to] Emperor Xiaowen [r. 179–157 BCE] is on the eastern side. They stand 5 *li* from the county seat. In the fourth year of the Yongguang reign era [40 BCE], during the reign of Emperor Xiaoyuan [r. 48–33 BCE], the Grand Master of State received permission to destroy them.¹¹⁴

East of Mulberry Village [Sangli], at what is now the western side of the prefect's mansion, there is the place where in olden days Wu raised cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens. It was called "the Cattle Palace" [Niu Gong] and is now a hunting park.

In the ninth year of the reign of Emperor Wen of the Han dynasty [171 BCE], Kuaiji was merged with Guzhang Commandery.¹¹⁵ A prefect governed Guzhang and a commandant governed Shanyin. In the sixteenth year, a prefect [was appointed to] govern Wu Commandery and a commandant to govern Qiantang.

In the fifth month of the fifth year [152 BCE] of the reign of Emperor Xiaojing of the Han dynasty [r. 156–141 BCE], Kuaiji Commandery reverted to the Han throne. Once it had reverted to the Han throne, it began to follow central government policy. In the first year of the Yuanfeng reign era [110 BCE] in the reign of Emperor Xiaowu of the Han dynasty [r. 140–87 BCE], the marquis of Yangdu followed the just way and established Youzhong. When Youzhong was first built, it stood 50 *li* [20.75 km] from the county seat.

In the second year of the Yuanfeng reign era [109 BCE] in the reign of Emperor Xiaowu of the Han dynasty, Guzhang [Commandery] changed its name and became Danyang Commandery.

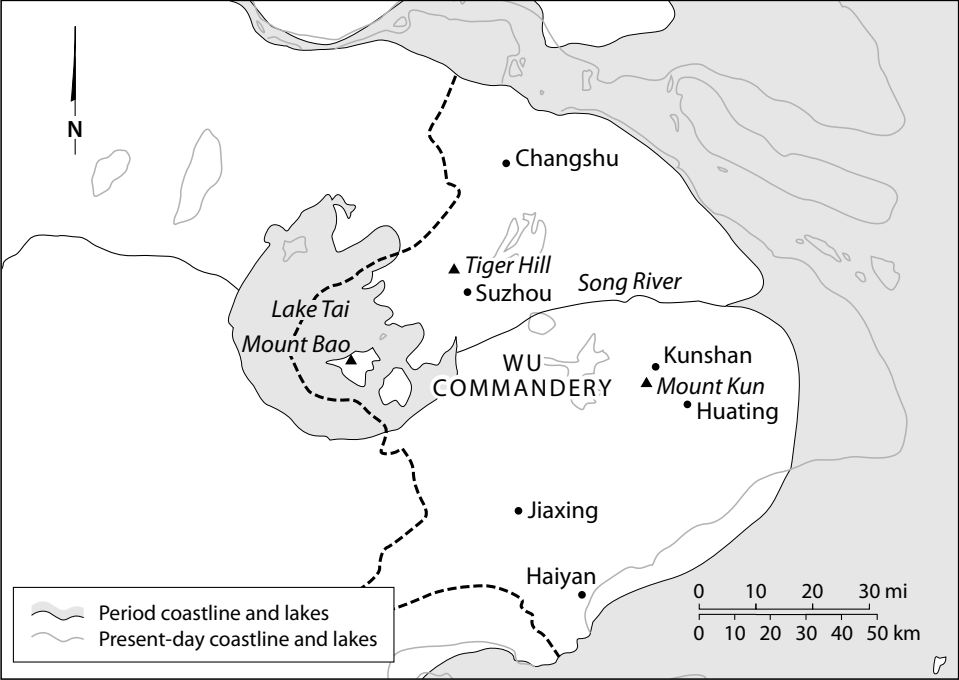
In the fourth month of the fifth year of the Tianhan reign era, the little mountains along the Qiantang Zhe River disappeared. By the seventh year, they had reappeared again.

Some 240 years after King Goujian of Yue moved the capital to Langya, King Kaolie of Chu united the Yue at Langya. More than 40 years later, Qin conquered Chu. Another 40 years after that, Han conquered Qin, and that was 242 years ago. From the time when Goujian moved the capital to Langya to the twenty-eighth year of the Jianwu reign era is 567 years in all.

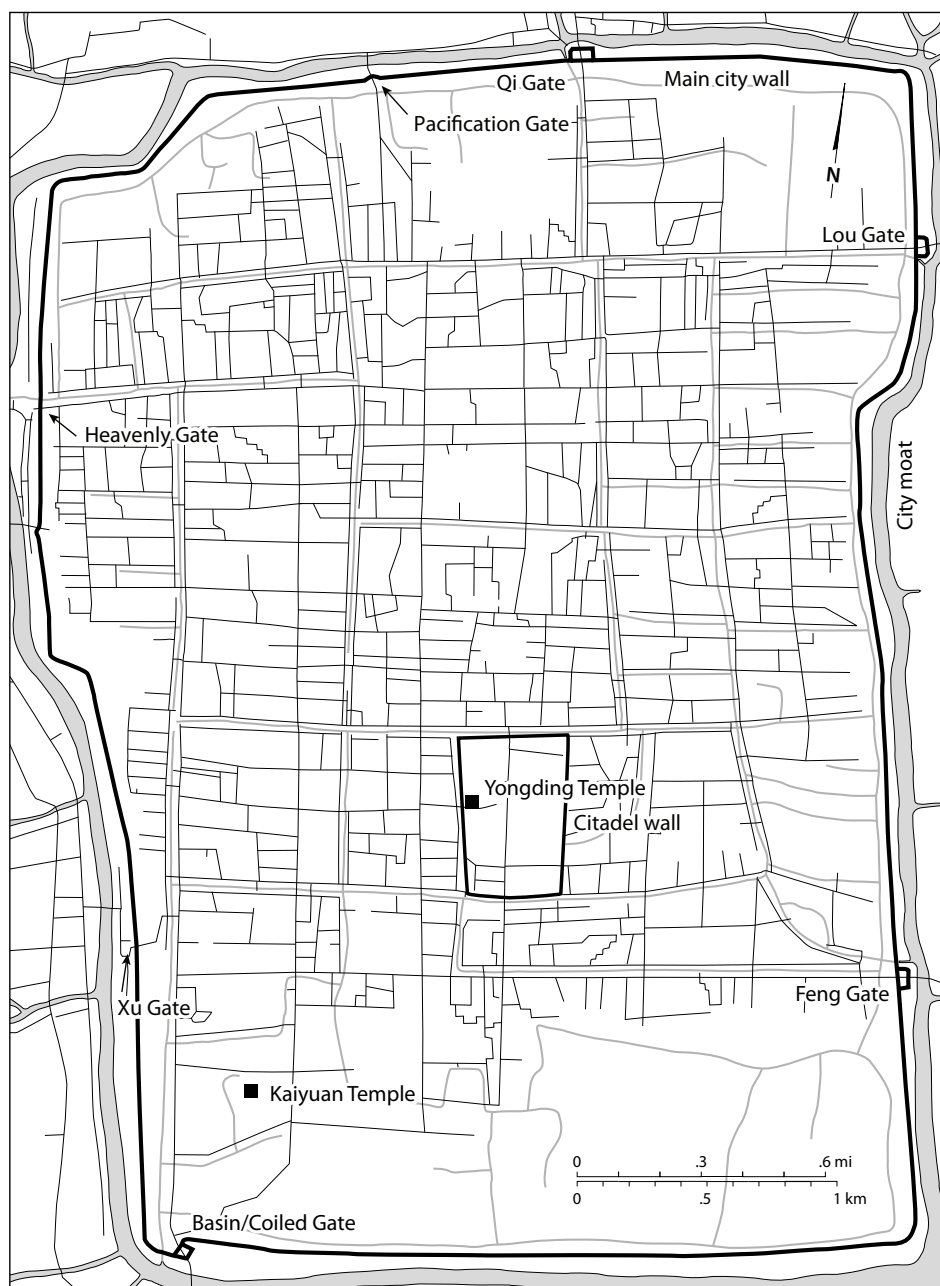
Record of the Lands of Wu

RECORD of the Lands of Wu is one of only six surviving Tang dynasty gazetteers.¹ Such a paucity of examples means that it is very difficult to understand whether this particular text is typical of local history writing during this era, and if it is, to what extent. It is entirely fortunate, however, that among the meager number of extant Tang gazetteers is one that continues the story of the city of Suzhou. This allows us to compare both the way that the writing of local histories developed from the Han dynasty *Tales of the Lands of Wu* through to the Tang and to understand something of how Suzhou changed during the first one thousand years of its recorded history. This goes some way toward making up for the large number of local histories written about the Wu region in the intervening years that have not survived, including, from the Three Kingdoms era, the *Account of Commanderies and Kingdoms in the Wu Region* (San Wu junguo zhi) by Wei Zhao (204–273) and *Record of Wu County* (Wuxian ji) by Gu Wei and, from the Jin dynasty, *Record of the Territory of the Wu Region* (San Wu tudi ji) by Gu Changsheng and *Record of Wu Commandery* (Wujun ji) by Gu Yi. In the Southern Dynasties, gazetteers are known to have been written but do not survive, among them, *Record of the Geography of Wu Commandery* (Wujun dili ji) by Wang Sengqian (426–483), the *Account of Wu Commandery* (Wudi zhi) by Dong Lan, and *Record of the Lands of Wu* (Wudi ji) by Lu Daozhan. These texts are now known only through a handful of quotations or from references in library catalogs.

Record of the Lands of Wu is an important milestone in writings about the historical geography of Suzhou and the surrounding area. One reason for this is its wide circulation, which would ensure that it was extensively quoted in later gazetteers about the city of Suzhou and indeed would prove influential in the history of gazetteer writing in general. (The availability of this text during the imperial era stands in marked contrast to the situ-



MAP 4. Wu Commandery in the Tang dynasty



MAP 5. Suzhou in the Tang dynasty. All locations indicated on this map have either been confirmed by archaeological excavations or are extant at present.

ation pertaining to *Supplementary Records to the “Illustrated Guide to Wu Commandery,”* which was to prove an extremely rare document for most of its history and became generally available only in modern times.) Although the structure of this text is much simpler than that of later gazetteers, there is considerable evidence in *Record of the Lands of Wu* that the compiler was trying to organize his material into useful categories that would allow readers to go directly to the information that they wished to find. This represents a significant step forward from *Tales of the Lands of Wu*, which (at least in its transmitted form) is a highly disorganized text.

Record of the Lands of Wu had a marked influence on later gazetteer writing in its use of quotations. The idea of providing supporting documentation in the form of references to other textual sources can be traced back to *Tales of the Lands of Wu*, which mentions the existence of local records; however, this Tang dynasty text calls upon a wider range of textual references, as would subsequently become standard in later gazetteers. *Record of the Lands of Wu* not only quotes a number of ancient texts, such as the *Book of Documents* and the Han dynasty *Spring and Autumn Annals of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yue* (Wu Yue chunqiu), but also includes a number of references from literary works. This is extremely important, for it suggests that at a very early stage in the development of this type of text, the format of gazetteers turned away from simply recording the facts of local historical geography and moved toward documenting the cultural legacy of the region in a much broader sense. The use of quotations from both the classics and later literature—poetry and prose—would become a hallmark of the genre. Often, as here, the quotations are embedded in the text; however, eventually some gazetteer authors would choose to have either separate literary sections or a “Treatise on Arts and Literature” (Yiwen zhi) chapter at the end in which to record this important part of the cultural history of the region in more detail. (This development is even more marked in the *Supplementary Records*, which incorporates a truly enormous number of literary references, as discussed in the next chapter.)

AUTHORSHIP AND DATING

Editorship of *Record of the Lands of Wu* is now universally attributed to a man named Lu Guangwei, but his life dates and the date of composition of the book remain highly controversial. Since nothing is known of his life, except that he was apparently a native of the city of Suzhou, it is impossible

to do more than speculate on his reasons for producing this gazetteer and what his sources of information may have been. *Record of the Lands of Wu* is quoted extensively in works on geography and encyclopedias from the Tang dynasty onward. Moreover, the text preserves numerous internal references (particularly on the naming of temples) that support a Tang dynasty date for much of the material in the book, although there is also evidence of textual corruption and interpolation. Initially, the compiler of the text appears to have been anonymous, but by the time of the Song dynasty, his name was well established. *Record of the Lands of Wu* is listed under his name in the catalog of the Song imperial library and in You Mao's (1127–1194) *Catalog of the Premier Hall Library* (Suichutang shumu).²

The *Appendix to "Record of the Lands of Wu"* (also translated below) remains one of the key sources for the dating of this text. Though the wording of the *Appendix* is more than a little ambiguous, it suggests that *Record of the Lands of Wu* was compiled in the third year of the Qianfu reign era of the Tang dynasty, which is the year 876. (This date has frequently been used to assign Lu Guangwei's life to the late ninth century.) The text then apparently continued to be revised and reworked until the thirteenth year of the Chunxi reign era of the Song dynasty (1186), which seems to be the year that it was written or at least updated. The information it gives has led some scholars to argue that *Record of the Lands of Wu* was compiled during the Song dynasty, but the large number of quotations from this text found in earlier sources makes it extremely unlikely. The possibility does remain, however, that the *Record of the Lands of Wu* quoted in these Tang dynasty sources is in some way different from the transmitted text, which may represent either a Song dynasty revision or a reedited version of the Tang dynasty original text.

The *Appendix to "Record of the Lands of Wu"* places particular emphasis on the destruction caused by the forces of the rebel Wang Ying when they sacked the city. This now little-known event in the city of Suzhou's history looms large in the imagination of the author of the *Appendix* and suggests that whoever wrote this passage—either Lu Guangwei or some other Tang dynasty person—intended this book to be a record of the past glories of the city and perhaps a blueprint for its reconstruction. Given that the events of the Wang Ying revolt and its impact on the city are extremely obscure, it would be surprising for the author to place such emphasis on the damage caused if it were not a matter of some immediate concern.³ The only other book on the history of Suzhou written during the imperial era that even mentions Wang Ying is the Ming dynasty *Gazetteer for Gusu [Suzhou]*

(Gusu zhi).⁴ If the information given in the *Appendix* does indeed reflect the intentions of the compiler of this text, then *Record of the Lands of Wu* is best understood as a work of nostalgic literature, comparable to such works as Yang Xuanzhi's *A Record of Buddhist Temples in Luoyang* (Luoyang qielan ji) and Meng Yuanlao's *A Dream of Splendors Past in the Eastern Capital* (Dongjing menghua lu).⁵

As with *Tales of the Lands of Wu*, the earliest extant printed editions of *Record of the Lands of Wu* date to the Ming dynasty, and no earlier manuscript versions survive. This translation is based on the critical edition with commentary compiled by Cai Lindi and comparison of five main printed editions. The first was the recension produced by the well-known late Ming bibliophile Wu Guan (*jinshi* 1571) and published in 1573. (The Wu Guan recension was also the basis of the *Complete Library of the Four Branches of Literature* [Siku quanshu] and the Collectanea of Tang and Song Literature [Tang-Song congshu] editions of *Record of the Lands of Wu*.) This was collated with the 1623 recension produced by Fan Weicheng (d. 1643, *jinshi* 1619), then the magistrate of Haiyan County, the Qing dynasty recension produced by the bibliophile Zhang Haipeng, the 1831 printed edition produced from a copy of the text originally edited by the Ming-Qing transition era bibliophile Cao Rong (1613–1685, *jinshi* 1637), and the late Qing recension produced by the Jiangsu Publishing Company (Jiangsu Shuju).⁶ Although Cai Lindi's commentary is excellent as far as it goes, the following annotations represent a much more detailed analysis of the information in this text.

INTERPRETING RECORD OF THE LANDS OF WU

Record of the Lands of Wu is not divided into sections by formal headings, but the text is nevertheless carefully organized in nine separate divisions: (1) administrative units; (2) the history of the kingdom of Wu; (3) the city of Suzhou; (4a) ancient remains in Wu County, (4b) ancient remains in Changzhou County, (4c) ancient remains in Jiaxing County, (4d) ancient remains in Kunshan County, (4e) ancient remains in Changshu County, (4f) ancient remains in Huating County, (4g) ancient remains in Haiyan County; (5) mountains; (6) rivers and lakes; (7) bridges; (8) temples; and (9) wards. However, *Record of the Lands of Wu* is by no means a comprehensive gazetteer. Like *Tales of the Lands of Wu*, this text was written long before there was any attempt to develop a standard format for gazetteer writing, which would not occur until the Song dynasty. Furthermore, it was privately produced, mean-

ing that the compiler was entirely free to include only information of interest to him. Such private gazetteers can be treasure troves, for they document developments in the locale that may escape inclusion in more formally structured texts. Such is the case here, for the compiler's interest in Buddhism led him to include a considerable amount of information, unavailable elsewhere, on the development of religious foundations in the Wu region. This concern with the religious life of the Wu region stands in marked contrast to the almost total lack of reference to this subject in *Tales of the Lands of Wu*. The compiler of *Record of the Lands of Wu* was also clearly fascinated by supernatural tales. Though supernatural tales about the Wu region also appear in earlier texts, in particular, in collections of supernatural tales (*zhiguai*), they are extremely prevalent in this text, to the point that they not only represent a highly personal interpretation of the landscape of the region, but also overshadow the more practical and prosaic facts presented in the gazetteer.

Record of the Lands of Wu begins with the political history of this region from the time it emerged from the waters after the great sage-king Yu regulated the flood. The author details administrative and bureaucratic developments as these lands changed from an independent kingdom to part of the Chinese empire. One striking aspect of this opening section of *Record of the Lands of Wu* is the discussion of astrology. Though this might seem out of place, it was a crucial part of ancient Chinese thought. It was believed that each area of the earth corresponded to an asterism in the sky, and thus any change affecting the heavens, for example, the movement of a comet into a particular asterism, would be mirrored by some change in the associated geographical region. This theory was known as the "field division" (*fenye*) system. Since at least the Han dynasty, the Wu region and in particular the city of Suzhou were associated with the asterism Waiting Maid (Xunü). Although this is not mentioned in the "Traditions of the Lands of Wu" chapter of the *Lost Histories of Yue*, it is described in another section, "Record of Military Auras" (Ji junqi).⁷ During the imperial era, it was conventional to place information on the relevant asterism in the opening section of many types of geographic writings.

Coverage of events and individuals of different dynasties in *Record of the Lands of Wu* is extremely patchy. This is no doubt partly the result of the compiler's personal interests affecting the inclusion of material. It is extremely striking, however, that a text compiled during the Tang dynasty should make so little effort to record the state of affairs that prevailed in the city of Suzhou and its environs during that time—particularly given the

ostensible aim recorded in the *Appendix to “Record of the Lands of Wu”* of recording the state of the region before the Wang Ying uprising. Instead, it concentrates largely on the events of remote antiquity, when this was the ancient southern kingdom of Wu, and on the Age of Disunion, in particular the Eastern Wu and Jin dynasties. Something of this patchy spread of information is shown in table 2.1, which provides a breakdown by dynasty of the number of individuals mentioned. It should be noted that this table is not complete, due to the fact that some of the people named in *Record of the Lands of Wu* are obscure, figuring in no other extant text, and hence cannot be assigned to a particular dynasty.

TABLE 2.1: Individuals Mentioned in *Record of the Lands of Wu*
(by kingdom or dynasty)

KINGDOM OR DYNASTY	DATES	NUMBER OF PERSONS MENTIONED
Wu kingdom	585–473 BCE (112 years)	17
Han dynasty	206 BCE–220 CE (426 years)	12
Wu dynasty	222–280 CE (58 years)	10
Jin dynasty	265–420 CE (155 years)	21
Song dynasty	420–479 CE (59 years)	2
Qi dynasty	479–502 CE (23 years)	2
Liang dynasty	502–557 CE (55 years)	8
Chen dynasty	557–589 CE (32 years)	1
Sui dynasty	581–618 CE (37 years)	2
Tang dynasty	618–907 CE (258 years) ¹	7

- 1 Number of years up to the putative completion of the gazetteer in the third year of the Qianfu reign era (876).

Record of the Lands of Wu presents a considerable amount of detailed information about the architecture and administration of the city of Suzhou and its environs. Unlike the compilers of many other gazetteers for the region, the compiler of this text was comparatively uninterested in the natural geography of the city and its environs. There is a reasonably extensive section on mountains, but virtually no references to rivers, canals, or lakes. This absence of information is in stark contrast to *Tales of the Lands of Wu* and also the *Supplementary Records*, both of which contain extensive descriptions of the waters that encircled and flowed through the city and have proved such a defining feature of Jiangnan life through the ages. The only possible explanation for omitting any reference to this extremely important

aspect of Suzhou was a lack of interest on the part of the compiler of this text.

Another striking characteristic of *Record of the Lands of Wu* is that the figures it gives are consistently wrong. Whether this represents textual corruption is unclear; the absence of any surviving source material means it is impossible to ascertain whether Lu Guangwei was simply transferring errors in his source texts into *Record of the Lands of Wu* by direct quotation, but it is nevertheless an extremely obvious fault. For example, the figures given for tax revenues for the counties that then made up Wu Commandery simply do not add up. This characteristic of the text can also be seen in the *Appendix to "Record of the Lands of Wu,"* which says that it records a king list of twenty-five monarchs of the kingdom of Wu but names only twenty-two. (One glaring omission is the name of King Shoumeng of Wu, who, according to many ancient Chinese sources, was the first monarch of that kingdom and the first ruler to maintain diplomatic relations with the Central States of the Zhou confederacy.) On the one hand, the failure to count the number of names correctly may indicate textual corruption. On the other hand, a total inability to deal in correct numbers being such a feature of the text, it is equally possible that this inaccuracy means that this part of the *Appendix*, at any rate, was produced by the person who compiled the main body of *Record of the Lands of Wu*.

RECORD OF THE LANDS OF WU

Records of the Grand Historian and the *Spring and Autumn Annals of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yue* say that after Yu controlled the floods, he divided [the land] into nine provinces.⁸ The "Tribute of Yu" [chapter of the *Book of Documents*] says of the lands of Yangzhou that the kingdom of Wu spreads out in all four directions: to the east it stretches as far as the ocean, to the west it reaches to the city of Ying in Jing [Chu], to the south it touches upon the outskirts of Yue, to the north it overlooks the great Yangzi River.⁹ These are the original borders of the kingdom of Wu. Now [Wu] Commandery is located 3,190 *li* [1,754.5 km] southeast of the capital, protected by the constellations of Sagittarius [and the lunar lodges] "Dipper" and "Woman," under the influence of the Weaving Maiden.¹⁰ Such was the situation from the time when the First Emperor of China engulfed the six kingdoms until the fourth year of the Yongjian reign era [129] of Emperor Shun of the Han dynasty, at which point a man named Yin Chong from Shanyin County presented a letter to the emperor, asking permission to divide this commandery into

the Two Zhes Circuit. The emperor then instructed the minister of works, Wang Xifeng, to divide the region along the Qiantang River, the lands to the east forming Kuaiji Commandery and the lands to the west forming Wu Commandery. In the first year of the Zhenming reign era [587] of the Chen dynasty, the name was changed to Wu Prefecture. In the ninth year of the Kaihuang reign era [589] of Emperor Wen of the Sui dynasty [r. 581–604], they moved the commandery seat east of Mount Heng where new city walls were built; in the seventh year of the Wude reign era [624] of the Tang dynasty, they moved the new seat back to its old location and promoted it to the status of an honored district, consisting of seven counties, 194 townships, and a population of 143,261 households.¹¹ Taxes and the revenue derived from tea, salt, liquor, and so on amount to 692,885 *guan*, 76 *wen*.¹²

Wu County is 99,963 *guan*, 373 *wen*.

Changzhou County is 98,576 *guan*, 576 *wen*.

Jiaying County is 178,076 *guan*, 120 *wen*.

Kunshan County is 109,503 *guan*, 738 *wen*.

Changshu County is 90,750 *guan*, 774 *wen*.

Huating County is 72,182 *guan*, 431 *wen*.

Haiyan County is 46,581 *guan*, 58 *wen*.

Wujiang County, added to that, is 36,269 *guan*, 100 *wen*.

From this tax revenue, local officials deduct their pay: 107,720 *guan*, 146 *wen*.

From this tax revenue, the garrison stationed at Suzhou deducts its pay: 178,349 *guan*, 98 *wen*.

The finance officer attached to the military training commissioner then remits to the capital 306,830 *guan*.

The land is called “Zhenzhou,” the river is called “Tongbo,” the city is called “Helü,” and the tower is called “Gusu.” Fertile lands spread out for a thousand *li*; this is called “Quanwu.”

In the past, Taiwang of Zhou had three sons: the oldest was called Taibo, the second Zhongyong, and the youngest Jili. Jili had a son named Chang, who was exceptionally brilliant. Taiwang became sick, and Taibo and Zhongyong then went into the mountains to gather medicinal herbs, and from there they fled to Wu. They tattooed their bodies and cut their hair, to show that they had no intention of taking the throne and wished to give way to Jili. His son Chang then took the title Western Earl, and he eventually became King Wen [of the Zhou dynasty]. The people of Wu were moved by Taibo’s sense of justice, and they gave their allegiance to him, making

him their king. Taibo three times tried to give up his throne to his younger brother Zhongyong. When Zhongyong was established, he took the title Gouwu. When [Taibo] died, he was buried at Meili, and Zhongyong took the throne.¹³ Zhongyong had a son named Jijian, Jijian had a son named Shuda, Shuda had a son named Zhouzhang, and Zhouzhang died.¹⁴ One of his descendants was named Shoumeng, who was the first to build fortified cities and who constructed the palace that stands 2 *li* [1.1 km] northwest of Pacification Gate. There were nineteen generations between Taibo and Shoumeng. Shoumeng had four sons; the oldest was Zhufan [r. 560–548 BCE], the second was Yuji [r. 547–531 BCE], the third was Yumei [r. 530–527 BCE], and the youngest was Jizha. Jizha was wise, and Shoumeng wanted to establish him, but Jizha refused, so [Shoumeng] established Zhufan instead. When Zhufan died, the people of Wu wanted to establish Jizha, but he would not accept this and abandoned the palace to plow in the wilds, and then they gave up the idea. He enfeoffed Jizha in Yanling, and so he had the title Master Ji of Yanling. Yuji was then established, and in the fourth year of his reign, Wu sent Jizha on a diplomatic mission to the other states.¹⁵ When Yuji died, he was succeeded by his younger brother, Yumei, who was in power for four years and then died. [The people] wanted Jizha to succeed him, but Jizha refused and ran away. Yumei's son Liao was established, but he was assassinated in the thirteenth year of his reign by Zhufan's son, Prince Guang. Liao loved roasted fish, but he would not eat it if it was not roasted by Zhuan Zhu. Zhufan's son Guang bribed him with one hundred ingots of gold, and thus Zhuan Zhu presented a fish to King Liao and stabbed him dead with a dagger he had concealed inside the roasted fish. Prince Guang then usurped the throne and became King Helü. The king also sent an assassin named Yao Li to murder Prince Qingji of Wu, King Liao's son, with a dagger hidden in his sleeve. When Master Ji came back three years later and heard that Liao had been assassinated, he crawled to his tomb, crying. Prince Guang then apologized for his crime to Master Ji, and Master Ji said: "If the sacrifices to our former rulers are still carried out, if the people have a good ruler, if the altars of soil and grain are flourishing, then you are my king. Life and death are determined by the will of Heaven."¹⁶

Helü's City was built in the sixth year of King Jing of Zhou [514 BCE] by Wu Zixu. The main city wall is 45 *li* and 30 *bu* [25 km] in diameter. The citadel is 8 *li* and 660 *bu* [4.5 km] in diameter. There are eight land gates corresponding to the eight winds of Heaven, and eight water gates corresponding to the eight trigrams of Earth. The "Wu Capital Rhapsody" [Wudu fu] says:

“Passage gates, two times eight, / Watercourses and land thoroughfares,” which is a reference to this.¹⁷ To the west are the Heavenly and Xu Gates, to the south Basin [Panmen] and Snake Gates, to the east Lou and Artisan’s Gates, and to the north Qi and Pacification Gates. The gates to the east were never opened in order to bring bad luck to Yue.

The Heavenly Gate is also known as the Destruction of Chu Gate [Po Chumen], because when Wu attacked Chu, its great army left by this gate.¹⁸ There is a poem by Lu Ji [261–303] that says:

The Heavenly Gate soars upward,
Its flying buttresses straddle the waves.¹⁹

When Confucius climbed a mountain, he saw the Heavenly Gate of Wu far in the distance to the east, and he sighed and said: “The Wu gate has a white aura like silk.” To this day this is commemorated in the names of the Silk Stream and Looking Afar Wards.

Xu Gate was originally the home of Wu Zixu, hence the name.²⁰ A stone stele marks the spot. There were originally two routes from here to Lake Tai; now the land route is impassable. Three *li* [1.65 km] to the south of this gate is Zhucheng, where the kings of Yue stored their grain. Fifteen *li* [8.25 km] away is Yucheng, where the kings of Yue raised fish. Southwest of this gate is the Yuelai Stream.²¹

Basin Gate was known in antiquity as the Coiled Gate [Panmen].²² At one time there was a carved wooden [sculpture] in the form of a coiled dragon, which was placed here in order to control Yue. They also say that this area is half land and half water, eddying and curling around, and that is why it is called the “Coiled Gate.” They also say that Emperor Da of the Wu dynasty [Sun Quan] was a coiled dragon, and that is why it has this name. Inside the gate there is a temple dedicated to Emperor Wulie [of the Wu dynasty, Sun Jian], where sacrifices are still performed.²³ Two *li* to the southeast there are the Later Han dynasty tombs of the Caitiff-Crushing General, Sun Jian, and the Rebellion-Punishing General, Sun Ce [175–200].²⁴

Snake Gate faces south and has land access but no waterways. Lord Chunshen built it in order to defend against the Yue armies, who live in the lands of Si, which are under the astrological sign of the Snake; hence they called it “Snake Gate.”²⁵ In the Former Han dynasty, Mei Fu, styled Zizhen, who was the commandant of Nanchang, decided to flee the chaotic regime

of Wang Mang, and so he proclaimed that he had become a transcendent, abandoned his wife and children, and changed his name.²⁶ Someone eventually found out that [Mei] Fu lived and died a recluse at this gate.

Artisan's Gate is also known as Gan Jiang Gate. To the southeast there was once both land and water access, but now the land route is impassable. From here you can sail out to sea, via Dalai, the Song River, and Hu Canal. King Helü ordered Gan Jiang to make swords here, and he selected the finest materials from the five mountains and combined the essence of the five metals, and he ordered three hundred young girls to sacrifice to the God of the Forge and work the bellows, but the gold and silver would not melt, and the molten metal would not emerge. His wife, Mo Ye, said: "The molten metal is not emerging. [How] do you plan to deal with this?" Gan Jiang said: "My former master, Ou Ye, was forging swords when the blade would not smelt, and he then immolated himself in the metal in order to complete the objects. How could I fail to do likewise? But if a woman is prepared to marry the God of the Forge, that would also work just as well." When Mo Ye heard what he said, she threw herself into the furnace, and the molten metal then emerged.²⁷ He then made two swords; the male was called "Gan Jiang," written in turtle-script, and the female "Mo Ye," written in eel-script. In addition, he cast an additional three thousand swords, all of which had their names written on them in turtle-script. Gan Jiang presented the male sword to the king of Wu and hid the female sword, which would constantly call out, longing for its mate.²⁸

Feng Gate and Chi Gate are located 3 *li* [1.65 km] south of that gate, [and the latter] is the site of General Chi Lan's tomb. It stands east of Snake Gate, and there is only land access and no waterway; that is why it is called "Chi Gate." In the southeastern corner there is also Bream and Tench Gate [Fangxumen]. This commemorates the appearance in Wu of bream and tench fish. These are not included in the list of eight gates.

Lou Gate was originally called "Liu Gate." In the Qin dynasty, the ancient Liu County was located southeast [of this gate]. In the Han dynasty, Wang Mang changed the name to Lou County. Two *li* [1.1 km] to the southeast is the tomb of the Han dynasty governor of Wu Commandery, Zhu Liang. His personal name was originally Zhao, but because of the taboo on the personal name of Emperor He of the Eastern Han dynasty [r. 88–105], he changed it to Liang. The Zhu family in Wu Commandery today traces its descent back to Zhu Liang. North of the embankment are the tombs of the Great Elder of the Gu family.

The Road Running North of Qi Gate communicates with Piling. In the past, the daughter of Lord Jing of Qi was married to Crown Prince Zhonglei of Wu, the oldest son of King Helü and brother to King Fuchai. After the lady from Qi buried her husband, she became deeply homesick [and came here regularly to look northward], and that is why this is called “Qi Gate.” Eventually, she, too, was buried on the southeastern peak of Mount Haiou, in Changshu [County], close to the tombs of Zhongyong, Zhouzhang, and so on. After she was buried, she transformed into a white dragon that soared into the sky. Today her tomb is known as Mother’s Grave. Two *li* [1.1 km] to the east of this gate stands the tomb of Guan Zhen, the governor of Lujiang [Commandery].

Pacification Gate faces north, and there is a waterway that communicates with Piling. When [Wu] Zuxu pacified Qi, his great army set out from this gate, hence the name Pacification Gate. Three *li* [1.65 km] to the northeast is the tomb of the wise minister of the Yin dynasty Duke Shen, also known as Wu Xian, and therefore this place has the alternative appellation of Wu Gate. Two *li* [1.1 km] to the northwest is the tomb of General Sun Wu of Wu. Three *li* [1.65 km] to the northwest is the Jiangcu walled city, which was built by Liu Bi of the Han dynasty. Three *li* [1.65 km] to the northeast is the tomb of Lu Hong, the prefect of Yingchuan.

Wu County is an honored district in the commandery. It was founded in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of the First Emperor of China [221 BCE]. In the Han dynasty, Wang Mang changed the name to Taide County. In the first year of the Zhenming reign era of the Chen dynasty [587], the last emperor restored the original name of Wu County. In the ninth year of the Kaihuang reign era of the Sui dynasty [589], Yang Su, Duke of Yueguo [d. 606], moved the county and commandery seat 5 *li* [2.75 km] east of Mount Heng.²⁹ Now they have moved back within the city walls. [Wu County] consists of thirty townships, with a population of 38,361 households, divided into thirty wards.

The Grave of Prince Qingji of Wu is located 35 *li* [19.25 km] northwest of the county seat. It is now known as Qing’s Tomb.

The Tomb of Bu Zhi [d. 247] is located 3 *li* [1.65 km] northwest of the county seat.³⁰ Zhi served the Wu dynasty as cavalry general, and he replaced Lu Xun [183–245] as counselor in chief.³¹ There is a stone stele that can still be seen southwest of Lindun Bridge.

The Tomb of Zhou Yu [175–210] is located 2 *li* [1.1 km] east of the county seat. Yu’s style name was Gongjin, and he came from Shu in Lujiang [Com-

mandery]. He served as the Wu dynasty general in chief and as the prefect of Nan Commandery. He was exceptionally handsome and at that time was only twenty-four years of age; everyone in Wu called him “Gentleman Zhou.” When Sun Quan attained the very highest office, he used to say to his ministers: “If it were not for Zhou Gongjin, I wouldn’t be emperor!” Yu was also well versed in music, and even after he had drunk a few cups of wine, if there was any mistake in the music, he was sure to notice it and turn his head. At that time, there was a saying: “If there’s a mistake in the music, Gentleman Zhou turns his head.”³²

The Tomb of Gu Yewang [519–581] is located east of Mount Heng. The land here is completely flat because he requested in his final testament that they should not build a mound on top of his tomb. Yewang, styled Tilun, served Emperor Wu of the Chen dynasty [r. 557–559] as director of the chancellery.³³ He was very learned and searched far and wide for copies of the classics and other texts, as a result of which he compiled the *Chart of Auspicious Omens* [Ruiying tu] for the Liang dynasty in 70 fascicles and the *Imperial Readings* [Yulan] in 360 fascicles.³⁴ The palace servants were each responsible for reciting one fascicle to the emperor as he walked around, and so they called it the “Walking *Imperial Readings*.”

Gusu Tower was located 35 *li* [19.25 km] southwest of Wu County. It was built by King Helü and took nine years to complete. This tower was 300 *zhang* [918 m] high, and from it you could see 300 *li*, and there was a road with nine bends leading up to it.

The Archery Tower was located at Ping’an Village at Mount Heng in Wu County.

Yacheng is located 20 *li* [11 km] southeast of Wu County.

Sha Village outside Jiang Gate and 5 *li* [2.75 km] beyond the city wall is the location of Pig’s Hill [Zhufen], which is the place where the kings of Wu raised pigs. Two *li* [1.1 km] to the east there is Bean Garden [Douyuan], which is where the kings of Wu raised horses. There is also Chicken Bank [Jipo]; King Helü of Wu built Bean Garden to the east of this bank.

Zhi Village is today remembered at Zhi Village Bridge, which is located at Liwa Township. These places are commonly called “Dropped Sandal Bridge” [Shilü Qiao] and “Liwa Township,” which is wrong.

Lake Tantai is located 10 *li* [5.5 km] southeast of Wu County. This lake was formed when the home of Confucius’s disciple Tantai Mieming, styled Ziyu, collapsed.³⁵ His tomb is situated next to the lake.

Xiajia Lake was the site to which Shoumeng traveled at the height of

summer in search of cool breezes. He dug out the lake and planted a garden, hence the name Garden Bridge today.

Cai Jing's Residence was located 50 *bu* [76 m] northwest of Wu County. [Cai] Jing was alive during the Later Han dynasty; he was a Daoist adept who smelted cinnabar elixirs before sloughing off his mortal form and becoming a transcendent. Now the place where he lived in reclusion is known as Transcendent Cai's Township.³⁶

Feng Huan's Residence is located 2 *li* and 50 *bu* [1.2 km] northeast of Wu County. Huan was one of Lord Mengchang's clients. Now there is Tanjia Alley, with his tomb beside it, and a still-extant stone stele.³⁷

Changzhou County is an honored district in the commandery, which was split off from Wu County in the seventh year of the Zhenguan reign era [632] and which takes its name from the [King of Wu's Long Island] garden. The land is named "Maoyuan"; the water is called "Xianshanxiang." One hundred *li* [55 km] to the east is what in the Qin dynasty was called "Liu County" but which was renamed Lou County by Wang Mang. Three *li* [1.65 km] to the north is Lu Stream, which is 8 *li* [4.4 km] wide and 4 *zhang* [12 m] deep and which communicates with Lake Tai to the west. Forty *li* [22 km] to the north is a lake that is 4 *li* [2.2 km] wide and 3 *zhang* [9 m] deep. Twenty-seven *li* [14.85 km] north of this county is Cen Bank, Xiajia Bank, and Madi Bank. This county comprises thirty wards, thirty townships, and a population of 23,700 households.

Flower Pond [Huachi] is located in Anchang Village in Dayun Township, Changzhou County.

Flowering Forest Garden [Hualinyuan] is located by Flowering Forest Bridge in Changzhou County.

The Southern Palace Fortress [Nangongcheng] is located at Changle Village in Gan Jiang Township, Changzhou County.

Jiaxing County was originally called "Changshui County" and is located 143 *li* [78.65 km] south of the commandery seat. It was established in the tenth year of King Jing of the Zhou dynasty, on Gukou Lake. In the twenty-sixth year of the reign of the First Emperor of China [221 BCE], it was relocated and renamed Youquan County. In the third year of the Huanglong reign era, an auspicious grain was [discovered] growing wild here, and the name was changed to Hexing County. In the fifth year of the Chiwu reign era of the Wu dynasty, because of the taboo on the personal name of the Wu crown prince, the name was changed to Jiaxing County. The Jin dynasty courtesan from Qiantang, Su Xiaoxiao [d. 501], was once buried here.³⁸ Five *li* [2.75 km]

to the east is the Heavenly Pool [Tianxinchi]. Two *li* [1.1 km] to the east is the tomb of Zhu Maichen, the governor of Kuaiji [Commandery].³⁹ Five hundred *bu* [765 m] to the west is the residence of Xu Tian, minister of the Bureau of Military Personnel during the Jin dynasty, which he gave to the Buddhist Church to become the Temple of Numinous Light [Lingguangsi]. Thirty *li* [16.5 km] north of the county is Zuili, where Wu and Yue fought each other. One hundred *li* [55 km] south of the county is Yuer Neighborhood. When King Goujian [of Yue] ordered Fan Li to present Xi Shi to King Fuchai, Xi Shi and Fan Li had an affair en route, as a result of which it took them three years to make their way to Wu, and she gave birth to a baby in this neighborhood. The baby could speak when it was only a year old; therefore, they named this place Yuer [Speaking Child] Neighborhood. The *Lost Histories of Yue* says: "After Xi Shi destroyed Wu, she returned home with Fan Li, and the pair of them set sail across the lakes together."⁴⁰ Changgu Neighborhood is 25 *li* [27.5 km] away; from there, you enter Huating County. If you go 70 *li* [38.5 km] to the northwest, you get to the Trembling Marsh [Zhenze]. Now it has been promoted to an honored district, comprising fifty townships with a population of 27,054 households.

Kunshan County is located 70 *li* [38.5 km] east of the commandery [seat], the lands here are known as Quanwu, the river as Xinyang. In the thirteenth year of the Zhenguan reign era [639], it was split off from Wu County to form Dong County. One hundred and ninety *li* [104.5 km] to the southeast is the walled city of Yuan Shansong [d. 401], the Jin dynasty general, which was constructed in the second year of the Longan reign era [398].⁴¹ At that time he was the prefect of Wu Commandery, and half of it collapsed into the river when he was defending the Hu Canal against Sun En [d. 402].⁴² Shansong wrote in clerical script, and Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty once criticized his calligraphy, saying: "Shansong's calligraphy is like a Daoist living deep in the mountains; it makes people ashamed to show their faces." When he died, he was given the titles Minister of Works and General and was buried 2 *li* [1.1 km] east of Mount Heng. In the fourth year of the Huichang reign era [844], this place was promoted to county level, and it comprises twenty-four townships and has a population of 13,981 households.

Changshu County is located 100 *li* [55 km] north of the commandery [seat]. In the second year of the Jian'an reign era [197], it was split off from Wu County to form Haiyu [County]. The original name was Haiyu County, but in the ninth year of the Zhenguan reign era [635] of the Tang dynasty, it was renamed Changshu County. One hundred and ninety *bu* [290 m] to

the north is the home of Confucius's disciple Yan Yan, and in the middle is the Sage's Well, which is 3 *chi* [92 cm] across and 10 *zhang* [306 m] deep.⁴³ Beside it there is a shallow basin, and 100 *bu* [153 m] north of the basin is a Silk Washing Rock, 4 *zhang* [12 m] square. Two *li* [1.1 km] north of the county seat is Mount Haiou; Zhongyong and Zhouzhang are both buried on the eastern peak of this mountain. King Helü had three sons; the oldest was named Zhonglei, and he married a lady from Qi and died young, and he is also buried on this mountain.⁴⁴ There are three caves in this mountain; beside these caves is a stone platform 60 *zhang* [183 m] in circumference. Two *li* [1.1 km] to the east of this mountain is a stone chamber, which is the place where Taigong Lü hid from King Zhou [of the Shang dynasty]. Three *li* [1.65 km] northwest of the mountain is the temple to King Goujian of Yue. Two *li* [1.1 km] west of the outer city walls is the temple to King Fuchai, which was constructed when Gusu Tower was destroyed.⁴⁵ This [county] comprises twenty-four townships and 13,820 households.

Huating County is located 160 *li* [88 km] east of the commandery [seat]. The land is known as Yunjian and the river as Gushui. This county was established in the fifth year of the Tianbao reign era [746]. The residence of Lu Xun, Marquis Yuan of Jin, contained a pond and pavilion that were so lovely that the name [of this county, which means "Flower Pavilion"] was derived from it. The three tombs of Lu Xun, Lu Ji, and Lu Mao [d. 239] are located at Mount Heng, 25 *li* [13.75 km] southeast of here.⁴⁶ They had Heming, Heli, and Yuanhe.⁴⁷ This [county] comprises twenty-two townships and 12,780 households.

Haiyan County is located 220 *li* [121 km] southeast of the commandery [seat]. The land is known as Yinshui, the river as Fujian. This county was founded in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of the First Emperor of China [221 BCE]. Some land collapsed to form Lake Zhe. Later on, the names were changed to Wuyuan County and Lake Dang. In the fifth year of the Longan reign era [401], the name was changed to Dongwu Department and the seat moved to [Mount] Guyi. In the seventh year of the Xiankang reign era [371], the name was changed to Yuyue, and then it was renamed Haiyan County. In the first year of the Zhenming reign era [587] of the Chen dynasty, it was placed under the administration of the Salt Monopoly Office.⁴⁸ In the seventh year of the Wude reign era [624], it was assigned to the administration of Jiaxing [County]. In the second year of the Jingyun reign era [711], it was reestablished, only to be disbanded in the second year of the Xiantian reign era [713]. In the fifth year of the Kaiyuan reign era [717], the censor Zhang

Tinggui [d. 734] wrote a memorial to the emperor requesting permission to reestablish [this county].⁴⁹ Eleven *li* [6 km] east of the county [seat] is the residence of Empress He, the daughter of Marquis Mu of Jin. Fifteen *li* [8.25 km] farther on are the tombs of Gongsun Jie, Tian Kaijiang, and Gu Yezi, who all served Duke Jing of Qi [r. 547–490 BCE]. They were honorable and brave men who achieved great successes for him. Master Yan with wicked cunning gave them two peaches and ordered them to speak about their successes. The three of them all died on the same day and are buried in this county.⁵⁰ Thirty *li* [16.5 km] to the southeast is Mount Qinzhu; five hundred young men and women escaped from the troubles of the First Emperor of China here, and in the end they all became transcendents. Five *li* [2.75 km] west of the county [seat] is Mount Kuaihai; this is the place to which Lu Hua and his brother followed the golden ox.⁵¹ This [county] comprises fifteen townships and 13,200 households. In the fourth year of the Huichang reign era [844], it was promoted to county status.

Tiger Hill was renamed Martial Hill Mountain [Wuqiushan] because of the taboo on the personal name of the Tang Taizu emperor.⁵² It is also known as Bubbling Sea Mountain [Haiyongshan], and it stands 9 *li* and 200 *bu* [5 km] northwest of Wu County. King Helü is buried on this mountain, and they sent the people of five commanderies to construct his tomb. He is buried inside three bronze coffins, his body is preserved in mercury, and the pit is filled with gold and silver. *Records of the Grand Historian* says: “King Helü’s tomb is located outside the Heavenly Gate of Wu County. One hundred thousand men were employed in the construction of this tomb, and they piled up earth until you could see Lake [Tai]. Three days after he was buried, a white tiger crouched above [his grave], and therefore it is called Tiger Hill Mountain.”⁵³ The *Spring and Autumn Annals of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yue* says: “King Helü was buried at Tiger Hill, and one hundred thousand men were employed in the construction [of his tomb], and three days after he was buried the essence of the gold transformed itself into a white tiger, which crouched down above [the grave], and that is why it is named Tiger Hill.”⁵⁴ When the First Emperor of China went on his eastern progress, he came to Tiger Hill and wanted to obtain the treasure swords of the king of Wu, but his tiger crouched down defending the tomb. The First Emperor drew his sword and struck out at it but did not hit it; by mistake, he hit a boulder instead. The tiger then ran west 25 *li* [13.75 km] before suddenly vanishing. To this day the place is known as Tiger Field [Huliü], but thanks to the Tang taboo on the word “tiger” [*hu*] and the Qian fam-

ily taboo on the word “field” [*liu*], its name was changed to Xushu.⁵⁵ No one ever obtained [the king of Wu’s treasure] swords, but the access pit [they dug] became a pond, and it is now known as Sword Pond [Jianchi]. There is a rock beside the pond that is big enough to seat one thousand men, which is named Thousand Man Rock. This mountain was originally the country residence of Wang Xun [349–400], the Jin dynasty minister of education, and his younger brother Wang Min [351–388], the minister of works.⁵⁶ In the second year of the Xianhe reign era [327], they gave their mountain homes to the Buddhist Church, to become the Eastern and Western Temples, and shrines were established in their memory on this mountain.⁵⁷ To one side of the temple is the tomb of Zhenniang, a beauty of the kingdom of Wu.⁵⁸ Many visitors and talented men have written verse above her tomb. However, after the provincial graduate Tan Zhu wrote a *jueju* poem on the subject, people gradually rested their brushes.⁵⁹

Flower Mountain [Huashan] is located 20 *li* [11 km] from Wu County. The luxurious growth of vegetation on this mountain makes it very dark. In the second year of the Taikang reign era [281] of the Jin dynasty, a one-thousand-petal lotus flower bloomed here, hence the name. Two *li* [1.1 km] east of this mountain is Xuping Neighborhood. King Helü of Wu established this settlement. Two *li* [1.1 km] east of that is Lodging Beauties Palace [Guanwa Gong]; the people of Wu called Xi Shi a “beauty” [*wa*], and this place was built by King Fuchai; it is now known as Numinous Cliff Mountain [Ling-yanshan]. Lu Wan [278–342], the Jin dynasty defender in chief, gave his house to the Buddhist Church to become a temple.⁶⁰ Next to the palace is a stone drum, 30 *wei* in size. According to the *Wu Gazetteer*: “This drum will sound if there are soldiers about.” In the second year of the Longan reign era [398] of the Jin dynasty, the bandit Sun En raised a rebellion, and the drum sounded. On top of the mountain there is a pond that never runs dry even in a drought. The water mallows that grow there are particularly beautiful, and if you eat them in the summer, then you can expel the heat. They are a famous product of Wu.

Mount Zhixing stands 15 *li* [8.25 km] west of Wu County. Zhi Dun [314–366] of the Jin dynasty, styled Daolin, lived as a recluse on this mountain. Later, he obtained the Way and rode a white horse up into the clouds.⁶¹ There is a temple in these mountains called Requiring Kindness [Baoen] that was founded by Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty.

Mount Zuo’e stands 12 *li* [6.6 km] west of Wu County, and King Liao of Wu is buried in these mountains. There is a temple here called Siyi, which

was founded in the second year of the Tianjian reign era [503] of the Liang dynasty.⁶²

Mount Yuhang is also known as Mount Sifei. It is located 30 *li* [16.5 km] northwest of Wu County, and the tomb of Lu Lie, the Han dynasty prefect of Yuzhang Commandery, is to be found here. Two *li* [1.1 km] farther east is the tomb of the Han dynasty magistrate of Shanyin County, Lu Ji. This mountain contains earth as white as jade, and every year this is sent as tribute from Wu, under the name mineral rouge, though it is also known as whitewash and white worms. Three *li* [1.65 km] farther east stand the eighteen tombs of King Fuchai's adopted sons.

Mount Heng is also known by the name Sitting by the Lake Mountain [Juhushan] and stands 16 *li* [8.8 km] southwest of Wu County. The tomb of Zhu Zhi [117–238] is located here, also the grave of Lu Yungong, the vice director of the chancellery in the Jin dynasty.⁶³

Chicken Coop Mountain [Jilongshan] is located 30 *li* [16.5 km] west of Wu County, and it is shaped like a chicken coop, hence the name. In the second year of the Taikang reign era [281] of the Jin dynasty, Lu Wan, the minister of works, was buried on this mountain, and as they dug his grave, a stone phoenix flew out, which is why this place is now known as Phoenix Mound [Fenghuangdun]. Lu Wan, styled Shiyao, was vice director of the left [of the Department of State Affairs]. During the trouble with Su Jun [d. 328], he and his older brother Ye followed the emperor to Shitoucheng, and because Ye and Wan were so much admired by the people of Wu, [Su Jun] did not dare to put them under any further pressure.⁶⁴ When [Lu Wan] was appointed to the position of duke, he would often sigh and say to his clients: "That I am one of the Three Dukes means there must be a dearth of good men in the empire."⁶⁵ He really was that modest. He died of a sudden illness, and in recognition of his meritorious achievements in assisting the emperor, seventy families were moved specially to guard his tomb. His son [Lu] Na [d. 395], styled Zuyan, held himself aloof from mundane matters and would not accept new jobs. He was appointed prefect of Wuxing, but when he arrived in the commandery, he would not take his salary.⁶⁶ The area commander in chief Xie An [320–384] paid a visit to [Lu] Na, during which he deliberately did not present him with any gifts, and after a polite conversation over tea and fruit, he withdrew.⁶⁷ In the end [Lu Na], became director of the Department of State Affairs, and he, too, is buried at this mountain.

Mout Beiyong is located 20 *li* [11 km] west of Wu County. Prime Minister Pi of Wu is buried here. Pi was the grandson of Bo Zhouli of Chu, and when

Chu executed Bo Zhouli, [Pi] fled to Wu, and Wu made him a grandee. He flattered and fawned over King Fuchai and brought about the death of [Wu] Zixu, but later, when King Goujian [of Yue] destroyed Wu, he executed Pi on account of his disloyalty.

Girl's Tomb Lake [Nüfenhu] is located 6 *li* [3.3 km] northwest of Wu County. The *Lost Histories of Yue* says: "The youngest daughter of King Fuchai was named Youyu, and she realized her father was a wicked man and that he despised knights, caring only for lovely ladies, and thus the kingdom would certainly be in danger, so she hoped to be allowed to marry the scholar Han Chong. This did not come about, as a result of which she became so distressed that she died. King Fuchai was very sorry for her, and he buried her outside the Heavenly Gate in a coffin of gold and a bronze outer coffin. His daughter was transformed and sang: 'On the South Mountain there lives a bird; on the North Mountain are spread some nets. Since the bird flies high in the sky, what use are the nets? It is my ambition to follow my lord, but slanderous gossip has created many problems. Sadness and anger brought about a terrible illness, which caused my body to be returned to the yellow earth.'"⁶⁸ However, Zhao Ye's *Spring and Autumn Annals of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yue* says: "King Helü had a beloved daughter who was so angry when the king ate first of some steamed fish that she committed suicide. The king was deeply sorry for her, and so he buried her lavishly outside the Heavenly Gate. His daughter was transformed into a white crane and danced in the Wu marketplace, and a million people came out to watch her. Afterward [her grave] fell in to form a lake, which is now named Girl's Tomb Lake."⁶⁹

Liubei Neighborhood is located 200 *bu* [306 m] west of Girl's Tomb Lake. This was the site where King Helü would go sailing in his boat on the third day of the third month.

Lake Tai. According to the "Treatise [on Geography]" in the *History of the Han Dynasty*: "The 'Explanations of Earth' section of the *Dictionary of Refined Words* [Erya] says: 'Juqu lies between Wu and Yue.'⁷⁰ Guo Pu [276–334] says: 'Lake Tai is southwest of modern Wu County, and it is also known as the Trembling Marsh. In the middle is Mount Bao, which is 130 *li* [17.5 km] from the county seat. This mountain is 70 *zhang* [214 m] high and 400 *li* [220 km] in circumference. Below there is the Dongting Cave. People have dived here to find out how deep the water is, only to discover that it was endless; therefore it is known as the Underworld Pool. There are also the two Lei Mountains, one small and one large.'⁷¹ According to the *Lost Histories of*

Yue: “Lake Tai is 36,000 *jing* in circumference. It is also called ‘Five Lakes.’”⁷² Yu Fan [164–232] says: “Lake Tai is divided into five ‘fingers’ and hence it is called ‘Five Lakes.’”⁷³ *Discourses of the States* says: “Wu and Yue fought over the Five Lakes.”⁷⁴ This was at Lize, which is one of the lakes. Zhang Bo, in his *Account of Wu* [Wulu], says: “The Five Lakes is another name for Lake Tai. It is 500 *li* [275 km] in circumference—that is why it has the name Five Lakes.”⁷⁵ Zhou Chu [d. 299] in the *Record of Local Customs* [Fengtu ji] says: “This is the place where Shun went fishing.”⁷⁶ The *Record of Yangzhou* [Yangzhou ji] says: “Lake Tai has the alternative names of the Trembling Marsh and Dongting. Now in the middle of this lake is Mount Bao, in which there is a cave that is so deep that it cannot be plumbed. This is the ninth of the ten great Grotto-Heavens: the Linwu Grotto-Heaven.”⁷⁷ *Record of the Dongting Mountains* [Dongtingshan ji] says: “There are two caves in Dongting, and if you enter the cave to the southeast, it is so dark that you cannot proceed. In the past King Helü ordered a brave young man to search the cave, and holding a torch, he advanced day and night for seventy days. He turned back before he had investigated the site fully. He reported to the king: ‘When I first entered, the mouth of the cave was extremely narrow, and I advanced all hunched over. When I had gone for several *li*, suddenly I found myself in a stone chamber, about 2 *zhang* [6 m] high, which dripped constantly with moisture. Inside there was a stone bed and a rock pillow, and on top of several boulders there were three silk scrolls, which I picked up and took away.’ He presented them to King Helü, who could not read a word, and so he requested Confucius to explain it. Confucius said: ‘This book belonged to Yu of the Xia dynasty. It records matters of spirits and sages, and speaks about the Great Way.’ The king then ordered [the young man] to go back in, and he came out after twenty days. He said: ‘It does not look like it did before. All I could hear above me was the sound of wind and waves, and there were strange insects that mobbed me, hurling themselves into the flame of my torch, together with swallows and bats as big as birds. I could not find the route that I had taken before.’ This man had the surname Mao and the personal name Chang, and he was known by the soubriquet Maogong. In the present day Maogong’s residence can be seen at Dongting, where a stone chamber and platform are still extant.”⁷⁸

The Song River is also known as Songling and as Lize. *Zuo’s Tradition* says: “Yue attacked Wu, which countered them at Lize.” The source of this river is connected to Lake Tai. One branch of this river flows to the southeast, where, after 50 *li* [27.5 km], it debouches into a small lake. One branch

flows northeast, where, after 260 *li* [143 km], it debouches into the sea. One branch flows southwest, where it enters the Trembling Marsh; this is the mouth of the three rivers. Xian Zhong says: “*Song* is the same as *rong*, meaning of gentle appearance.” The *Book of Documents* says: “When the three rivers entered [the sea], the Trembling Marsh was stilled.”⁷⁹ This is correct. During the Jin dynasty, Zhang Han served [Sima] Jiong, the king of Qi [d. 302], at the capital, and when he saw the autumn winds rise up, he would think of the delicious perch of the Song River, and then he would order his chariot to head home to the east.⁸⁰ When Jiong was defeated suddenly, people all said that in fact he was very provident.⁸¹ When he died, he was buried 5 *li* [2.75 km] east of Mount Heng.

The Temple to King Gong of Cao of the Tang dynasty is located at the Song River. King Gong [d. 682] was the fourteenth son of Emperor Taizong [of the Tang dynasty]. In the first year of the Diaolu reign era [679], Empress [Wu] Zetian sent him to be the censor of Suzhou.⁸²

One Hundred Mouths Bridge. In the Later Han dynasty, Gu Xun of this commandery had a family of one hundred members and five generations under one roof. The people of his hometown had the greatest respect for him and jointly recommended the construction of One Hundred Mouths Bridge near his residence, in order to commemorate this wonderful example of filial piety and justice.

Ascending Fish Bridge is located at Jiaorang Canal. Ding Fahai and Qin Gao were men of this commandery who were good friends. [Qin] Gao was a recluse who would not accept office, and so they worked together in the fields of Donggao. One year at harvest time, the two men were walking along the path between the fields when they suddenly caught sight of a massive carp, several *zhang* long, with a single horn, two feet, and a pair of wings, which was dancing in Gao’s field. Fahai tried to get onto the back of this fish, which lay quiet and did not move, and after a long time, he got off. He invited Gao to climb onto the fish’s back, and the fish then spread its wings and flew right up into the sky.⁸³

Qin Gao’s Residence is 50 *bu* [76 m] west of Fahai Temple at Jiaorang Canal. Fahai Temple was established when the residence of Ding Fahai of Jiyang was given to the Buddhist Church. Fahai was probably a descendant of Ding Lingwei.⁸⁴ Below the stupa [west?] of the main hall, there is Lingwei’s Cinnabar Refining Well.

Gao Bridge is located 3 *li* and 50 *bu* [1.7 km] north of Wu County. This was the home of Gao Botong, a Han dynasty court gentleman. When

Botong died, he was buried 200 *bu* [304 m] west of Xu Gate, at what is called Botong's Mound. The Daoist adept Liang Hong lived as a recluse in Botong's house.⁸⁵ [Liang Hong] was working as a hired grain husker, but every time he went home, his wife would raise the platter until it was level with her eyebrows when serving him food. Botong investigated the situation and thought it was most strange: "How can a servant make himself so respected by his wife? This is not an ordinary man." [Botong] brought him into his home, and then Hong secluded himself, writing more than a dozen texts. When he got very sick, he told the master: "In the past Master Yanling buried his son between Ying and Bo and did not take him back to his old hometown. Please do not allow my son to take me back for burial!"⁸⁶ Then he died. Botong then requested permission to bury him next to the tomb of Yao Li of Wu. Everyone said: "Yao Li was a martyr, and Boluan was an honest adept, so it is appropriate to put them together." After the funeral [Liang Hong's] wife and son returned home to Fufeng.

The Capital Guesthouse Bridge. King Shoumeng built a capital guesthouse here in order to entertain clients from other kingdoms. The foundations are still extant.

Huizhu Bridge straddled a waterway that in Wu times communicated with Haizhu, but later, it silted up and turned into land. The foundations are still extant.

Dingkua Bridge was built by King Helü inside one of his gardens, and it was a place where he enjoyed himself. The foundations are still extant.

Massed Primordial Essence Temple [Chongyuansi] was established in the second year of the Tianjian reign era [503] by Lu Sengzan, the Liang dynasty chamberlain of the court for the palace garrison. He wrote a memorial requesting permission to give his residence to the Buddhist Church so that it could become the Massed Clouds Temple [Chongyungsi] after he noticed that it was covered by auspicious clouds day and night. By mistake, the Department of State Affairs wrote the name as Massed Primordial Essence [Chongyuan], and [the temple] was given a tablet reading: Spreading Virtue Massed Primordial Essence Temple of the Liang Dynasty.

Qianyuan Temple was established during the Jin dynasty, when the high official Dai Yong [378–441] gave his residence to the Buddhist Church.⁸⁷ At the beginning of the Qianyuan reign era [758–760], Zheng Guiqing, the investigation commissioner for Suzhou, wrote the calligraphy for the entrance and presented a letter to the emperor [in which he recommended] changing the name to Qianyuan Temple, in accordance with the reign era name.

Communicating with the Primordial Essence Temple [Tongyuansi] was established when Lady Wu, [the mother of] Sun Quan, Emperor Da of Wu, gave her residence to the Buddhist Church.⁸⁸ In the second year of the Jianxing reign era [314] of the Jin dynasty, 260 *li* [143 km] southeast of the commandery seat at Hu Canal, the fishermen at night saw a light shining above the sea, which illuminated the waters and pierced the heavens. The following day they saw two stone religious statues floating on the waters. They all said: "These are water gods." That very day they welcomed this apparition with a sacrifice of three animals. The statues came floating along on their backs. At that time there was a Buddhist believer, Zhu Ying, who together with a nun from Dongling Temple, led the multitudes out to the seaside [carrying] fragrant flowers, bells, and stone chimes, to welcome [the images], and then carried [the statues] back to the commandery seat. When the statues arrived at Communicating with the Primordial Essence Temple, a fight broke out between the various temples, but although several hundred people pushed and pulled, in the end, [the statues] did not move. Then everyone discussed the matter and said: "These statues ought to stay at this temple." After this had been said, a couple of people tried to lift [these sculptures], and the statues were perfectly easy to move. They were then carried up to Treasure Hall, and their miraculous nature repeatedly manifested itself, for they shone for seven days and seven nights without stopping.⁸⁹ Emperor Jianwen of the Liang dynasty [r. 550–551] wrote "Stele Inscription on the Stone Buddhas" [Shifo bei] in which he identified them as the Kāśyapa Buddha and the Vipaśyin Buddha.⁹⁰ Sanskrit words are inscribed on the backs of the two statues. In the Tang dynasty, Lu Jianzhi, the administrator of the Eastern Palace [of the crown prince], wrote the calligraphy for a stone stele.⁹¹ In the ninth year of the Zaichu reign era [689] of Emperor Zhongzong [of the Tang dynasty], Empress [Wu] Zetian presented [this temple] with a coral mirror and a Buddhist alms bowl and proclaimed that a great Gongyang ceremony [would be held at this temple]. She also changed the name of Communicating with the Primordial Essence Temple to Massed Clouds Temple. In the fifth year of the Kaiyuan reign era [717], it was changed to Kaiyuan Temple, and the temple was also granted a calligraphic inscription by a member of the imperial house. The old Communicating with the Primordial Essence Temple was moved to a site at Gentleman Bao's Market, 40 *li* [22 km] east of Yanguan County. Later, one of the statues was lost, but people made a new one to complete the set.

Auspicious Aura Temple [Longguangsi] was established in the second

year of the Tianjian reign era [503] when Lu Gao, styled Mingxia, Grand Master of the Palace with Golden Seal and Purple Ribbon, gave his residence to the Buddhist Church.⁹² Lu Jianzhi provided the calligraphy for the entrance.

Yongding Temple was established in the third year of the Tianjian reign era [504] of the Liang dynasty, when Gu Yanxian of Wu Commandery, the censor of Suzhou, gave his residence to the Buddhist Church.⁹³ Lu Hongjian [733–804] wrote the calligraphy for the entrance.⁹⁴

Meditation Temple [Yanshengsi] was established in the third year of the Tianjian reign era [504] of the Liang dynasty, after Zhang Rong [444–497], the minister of education and administrator of Wu Commandery, gave his residence to the Buddhist Church.⁹⁵ Lu Yanyuan, a guard of the Left Standby [Garrison], wrote the calligraphy for the entrance.⁹⁶

Chan Buddhist Temple [Chanfangsi] was established in the second year of the Jianwu reign era [495] of the Song dynasty, when Zhang Dai, the regional inspector of Suzhou, gave his residence to the Buddhist Church. Lu Zeng of Wu Commandery wrote the calligraphy for the entrance.⁹⁷

Flowing Waters Temple [Liushuisi] was built on the site of the residence of Lu Xiang of Wu Commandery, after he had given it to the Buddhist Church.⁹⁸ The three halls and three pavilions were built by Abbot Qingxian. Tian Yebo, the district magistrate of Wu County, wrote the calligraphy for the entrance.

Great Benevolence Temple [Tangcisi] was established in the first year of the Jianwu reign era [494] of the Song dynasty, when General Gao Shi gave his residence to the Buddhist Church.

Zhu Ming Temple. In the second year of the Longan reign era [398] of the Jin dynasty, there was a man named Zhu Ming living in this commandery, with a reputation as a filial son and honest man, whose family was very rich. He lived with his younger brother. He heard [his younger brother's] wife complaining about the trees that were ruining the house, so she wanted [her husband] to leave his older brother and live separately. [Zhu] Ming realized his younger brother's intentions and then gave all his gold and silk and surplus grain to his younger brother, keeping only the empty house. Suddenly one night there was a terrible storm that blew all this wealth back to [Zhu] Ming's house. The younger brother and his wife were ashamed to be seen in the township, so they both committed suicide. [Zhu] Ming then gave the house to the Buddhist Church to be a temple, which is now called Zhu Ming Temple.

Prajñā Tower [Banruotai] was built by He Zhun, Marquis Mu of Jin.⁹⁹ Inside is a pond, which is spanned by a stone bridge, and a bronze statue 1 *zhang* and 6 *chi* [4.9 m] high. This was placed there by the senior official Dai Yong. In the second year of the Jinglong reign era [708] of the Tang dynasty, a mysterious light was seen here that lasted for several days, and a memorial was thus presented to the emperor suggesting a change of name to Supernatural Light Temple [Shenjingsi]. There is also the Prajñā Bridge, which takes its name from the temple.

Accumulating Good Karma and Praying for Blessings Temple [Chongfusi] was built by Emperor Wu in the third year of the Tianjian reign era [504] of the Liang dynasty. It was destroyed by order of the Zhou court but rebuilt in the first year of the Baoying reign era [762].

Soaring Dragon Temple [Longxingsi] was established by Empress [Wu] Zetian. It contains eight pieces of imperial calligraphy. In the fifth year of the Kaiyuan reign era [717], this temple was rebuilt. The censor Zhang Tinggui copied the imperial calligraphy onto steles.

Kind Benevolence Temple [Cibeisi] was established in the second year of the Yongming reign era [484] of the Qi dynasty, when the local man Xue Tan gave his residence to the Buddhist Church. When Tan died at the end of the Zhou dynasty, he requested in his will that he be buried under the main hall.

Minister Lu Temple was built when Liang Zhuang gave his residence to the Buddhist Church.

Accumulating Good Karma [Chongshan] and Agarikon [Yuzhi] were two monasteries that were both built in the second year of the Tianjian reign era [503].

In antiquity there were eight official lodges here: Quanwu, Flowing Waves, Dragon Gate, Capital Guesthouse, Soaring in Flight, Lucky Magpie, River Breeze, and Fishing Pavilion.

In antiquity there were sixty wards here: Flowing Waves, Triple Yielding,¹⁰⁰ Floating Waters, Helü, Kunwei,¹⁰¹ Lodging Beauties,¹⁰² Musical Laugh-ter, Even Scales, Autumn Wind,¹⁰³ Southern Palace,¹⁰⁴ Connected, Gathered Friends,¹⁰⁵ Wu Song, Plain and Unadorned,¹⁰⁶ Southern Sacrifice, Chang-gan,¹⁰⁷ Looking Afar, Silk Stream, Carambola Tree,¹⁰⁸ Heat Ends,¹⁰⁹ Cherry Blossom,¹¹⁰ White Flower, Following On, Accepting Regulations,¹¹¹ Songs of Wu,¹¹² Rolling Thunder,¹¹³ Harmony, Shihe,¹¹⁴ Barbel Fish,¹¹⁵ and Humble Lamp.¹¹⁶ These first thirty wards were located in Wu County.

Progression to Goodness,¹¹⁷ Proclaiming Filial Piety, Confucian Teach-ings, Embroidered Garb, Great Unity, Golden Oriole, Jade Handle,¹¹⁸

Spreading Virtue, Founding Justice, Master Sun, Spring Day, Establishing Goodness, Following Righteousness,¹¹⁹ Welcoming Spring, Shouldering the Hoe, Opening Waters, Lize, Shicai,¹²⁰ Obeying Regulations, Yize,¹²¹ Governing the South, Zhonglü,¹²² Future Greatness, Official Hat, Eight Sabled Dignitaries, Benevolence and Virtue, Heavenly Palace,¹²³ Promoting Agriculture, Fuchun,¹²⁴ and Xungai.¹²⁵ These thirty wards were located in Changzhou County.

APPENDIX TO "RECORD OF THE LANDS OF WU"

The Great King of Zhou had three sons; the oldest was named Taibo, the second was named Zhongyong, and the youngest was named Jili. Jili was wise, and he had a most sagacious son named Chang, [the future] King Wen [of Zhou]. It was right that Chang should govern the world, and so Taibo three times refused to inherit his father's position in order to allow it to pass to Jili. The royal house of Zhou and that of Wu were both descended from Houji, and their clan name was Ji. Taibo ruled the kingdom of Wu for forty-nine years, but he had no children, so he was succeeded by his younger brother Zhongyong.

King Zhouyao ruled for thirty-seven years.

Xionsui ruled for forty-nine years.

Zaozhen ruled for fifty-nine years.

Kuanwu ruled for thirty-nine years.

Yichu ruled for thirty-eight years.

Biyu ruled for thirty-six years.

Qiyuan ruled for fifty years.

Kelu ruled for twenty-seven years.

Kezhuan ruled for twenty-four years.

Qiaoyi ruled for twenty-four years.

Jiuyi ruled for thirty years.

Jiesi ruled for thirty-five years.

Zhiji ruled for twenty-seven years.

Zhufan ruled for fourteen years.

Yuji ruled for seventeen years.

Yumei ruled for twenty-one years.

Liao ruled for thirteen years.

Guang ruled for thirty years.

Fuchai ruled for twenty-three years.

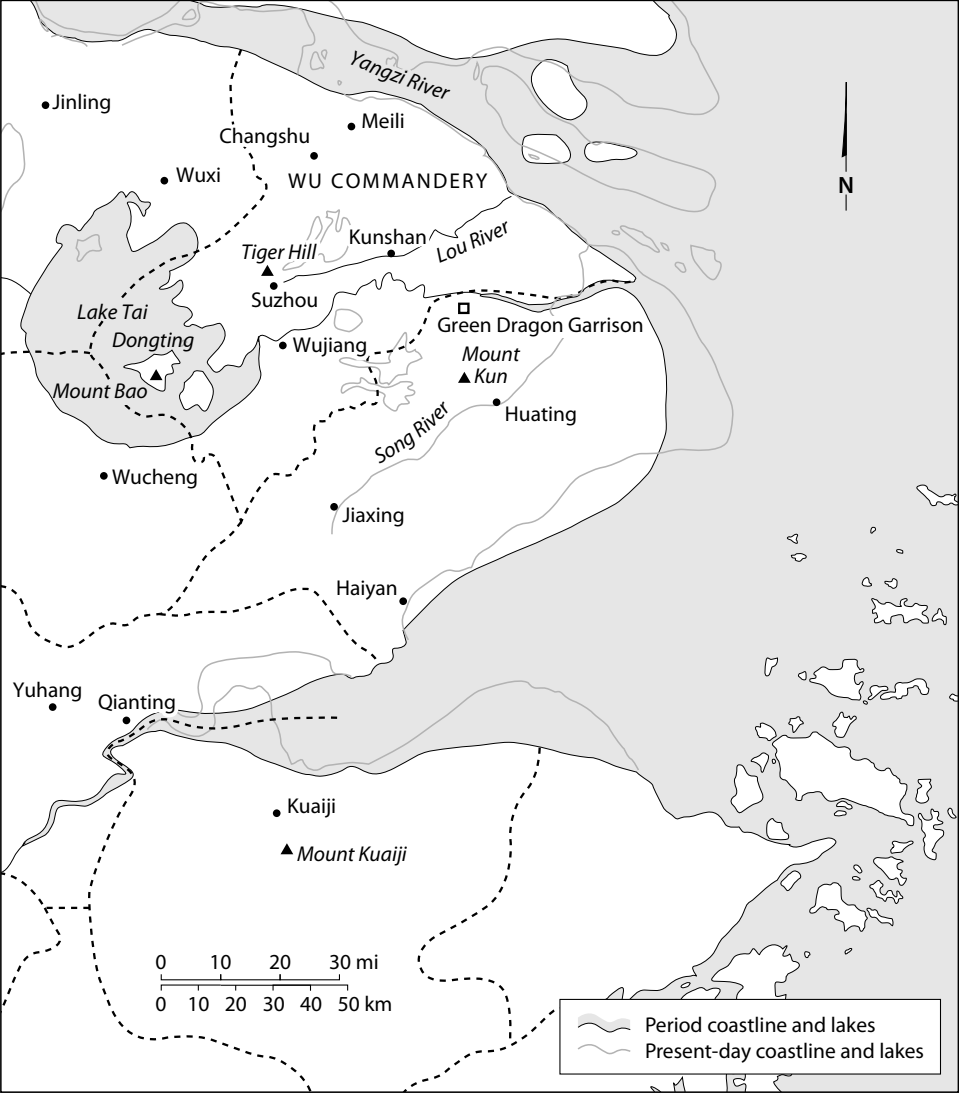
In total there were twenty-five rulers who governed the kingdom for 624 years.

Luo Walled City [Luocheng] is in the shape of the character *ya*, and it was founded in Dinghai year, the sixth year of the reign of King Jing of Zhou [514 BCE]. That is 1,895 years from today, Bingshen year, the third year of the Qianfu reign era of the Tang dynasty [876]. It is 2,215 years from Bingwu year, the thirteenth year of the Chunxi reign era of the Song dynasty [1186]. The city wall measures 12 *li* [6.6 km] from north to south and 9 *li* [4.95 km] from east to west. Great canals run through the middle of the city, three horizontal and four vertical. The name of Suzhou is known in all regions, and these lands are praised in every kingdom; it has seven counties [under its auspices] and eight gates, all of which are connected by roads and waterways. In the commandery seat, there are more than three hundred lanes; the two counties of Wu and Chang[zhou] consist of sixty ancient wards and have more than three hundred bridges. These lands are broad and their population numerous, but in spite of the many people [who live here], it is a wealthy region, with many marvelous ancient remains, true [one character missing in the original text], and supernatural stories. Later, because of the Wang Ying rebellion, Luo Walled City required rebuilding.¹²⁶

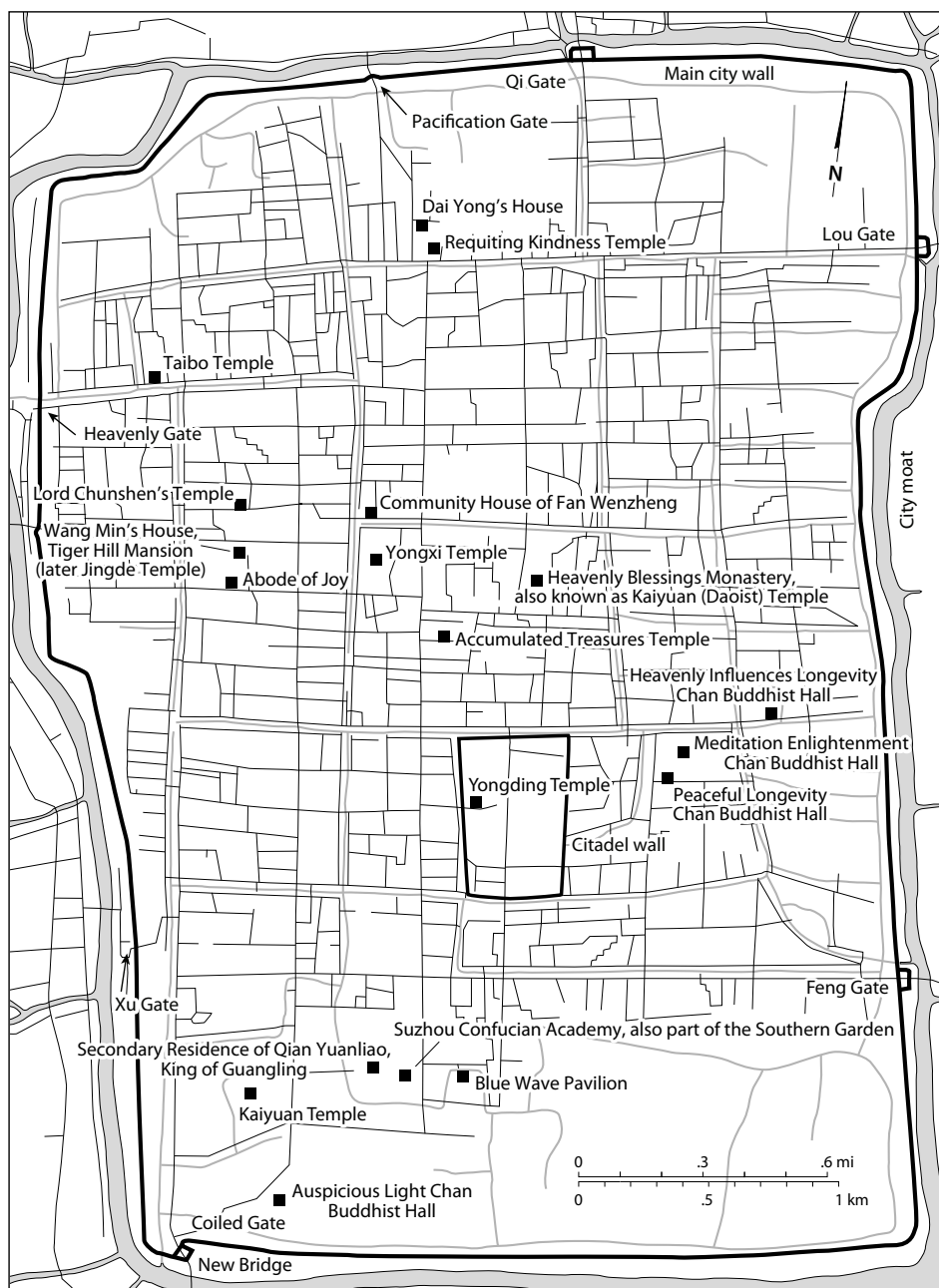
The completion of illustrations will have to await the improvements made by later generations.¹²⁷

Supplementary Records to the “Illustrated Guide to Wu Commandery”

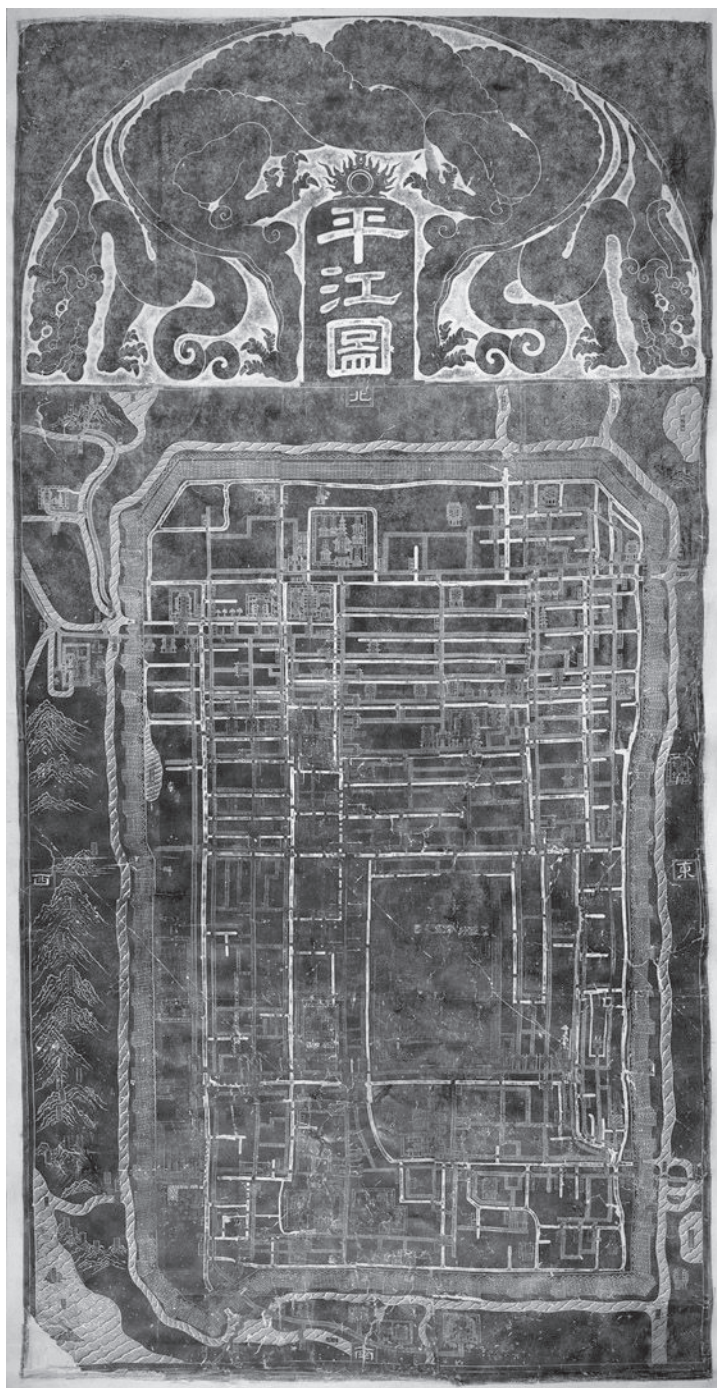
SUPPLEMENTARY *Records to the “Illustrated Guide to Wu Commandery”* by Zhu Changwen, like *Record of the Lands of Wu*, is an exceptionally rare survival of a gazetteer from the medieval period. Only one other Northern Song dynasty gazetteer survives to the present day, and only twenty-nine remain from the Song dynasty as a whole. What is more, this text represents a landmark in the development of gazetteer writing on a number of different levels. First, the *Supplementary Records* is significantly more detailed and comprehensive than any other extant early local gazetteer. It comprises information gathered from official and private sources, as well as quotations from literature and folk tales. Furthermore, repeated references to firsthand information gathering and visits to key sites make it clear that the author went to considerable trouble to check the accuracy of his work. Thanks to the author’s capacity for detail, this text came to stand as a benchmark for the production of gazetteers in the city of Suzhou. As numerous records indicate, early gazetteers or local histories were usually extremely short, often just a single fascicle. After Zhu Changwen’s work was produced, gazetteers for the city of Suzhou became much longer and more comprehensive; for example, the *Gazetteer for Wu Commandery* (Wujun zhi) by Fan Chengda (1126–1193, *jinshi* 1154) consists of fifty fascicles. Although the *Supplementary Records* seems to have been a rare (if not virtually unobtainable) book for much of the imperial era, its legacy in terms of improving the quality of gazetteer writing in Suzhou can hardly be overstated.



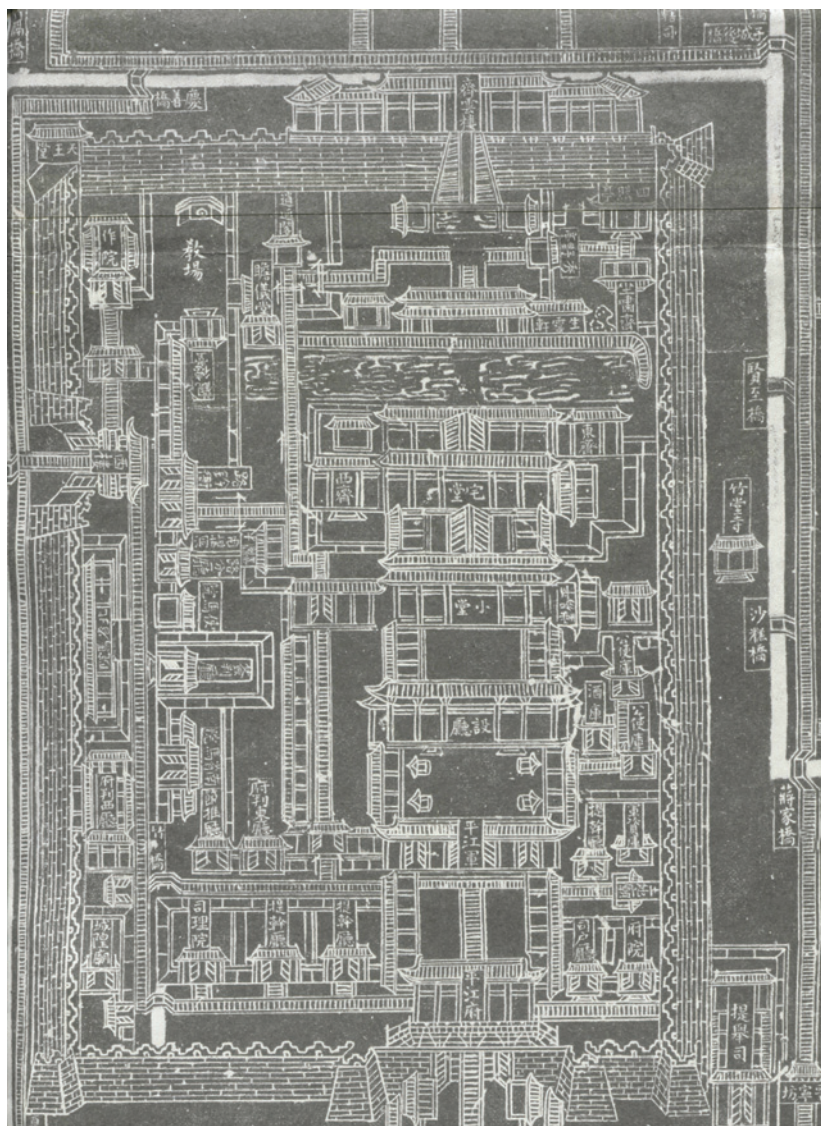
MAP 6. Wu Commandery in the Northern Song dynasty



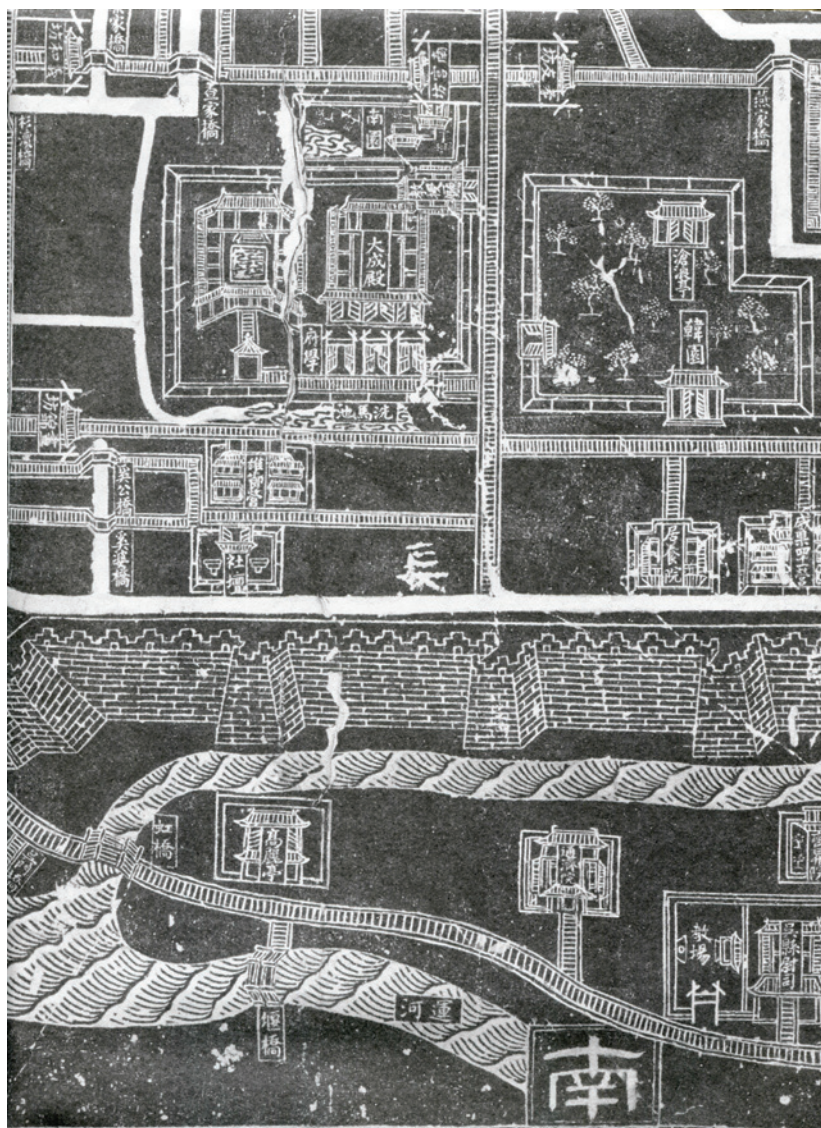
MAP 7. Suzhou in the Northern Song dynasty. All locations indicated on this map have either been confirmed by archaeological excavations or are extant at present.



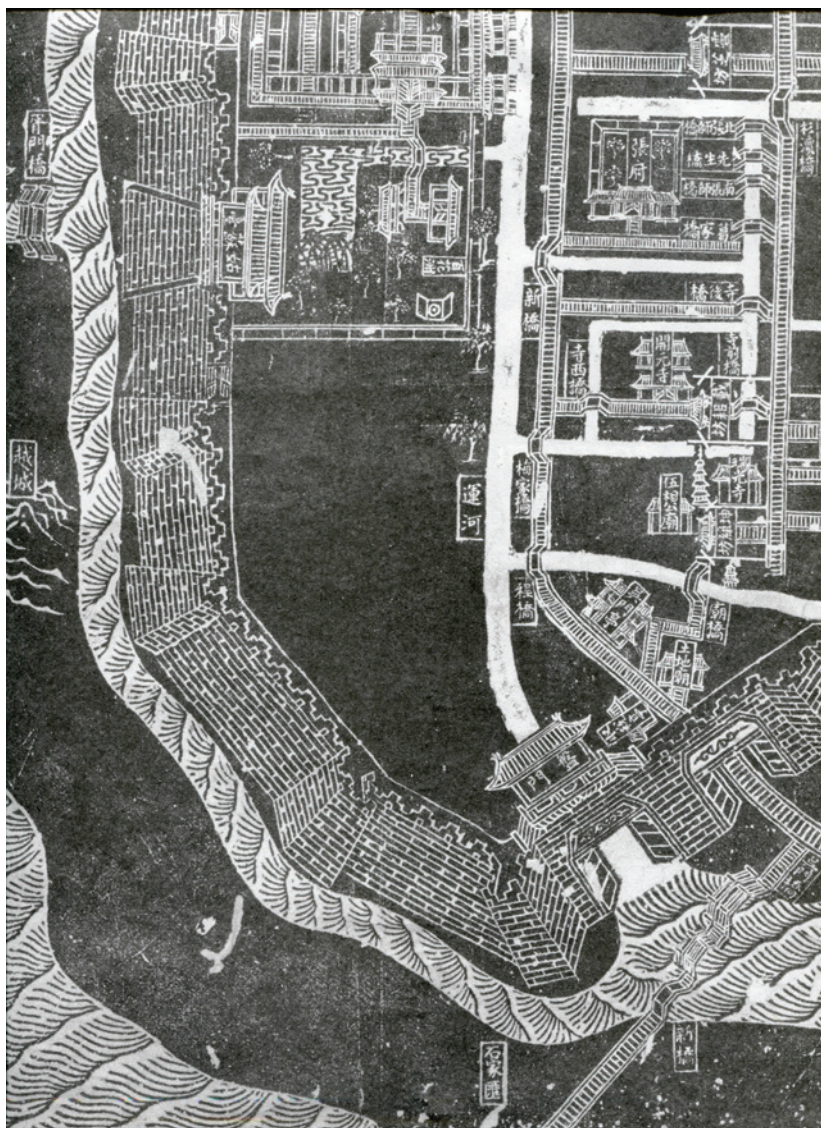
MAP 8. The “Map of Pingjiang” © The British Library Board (Ch.5.2c 1152)



MAP 9. The "Map of Pingjiang:" The Citadel



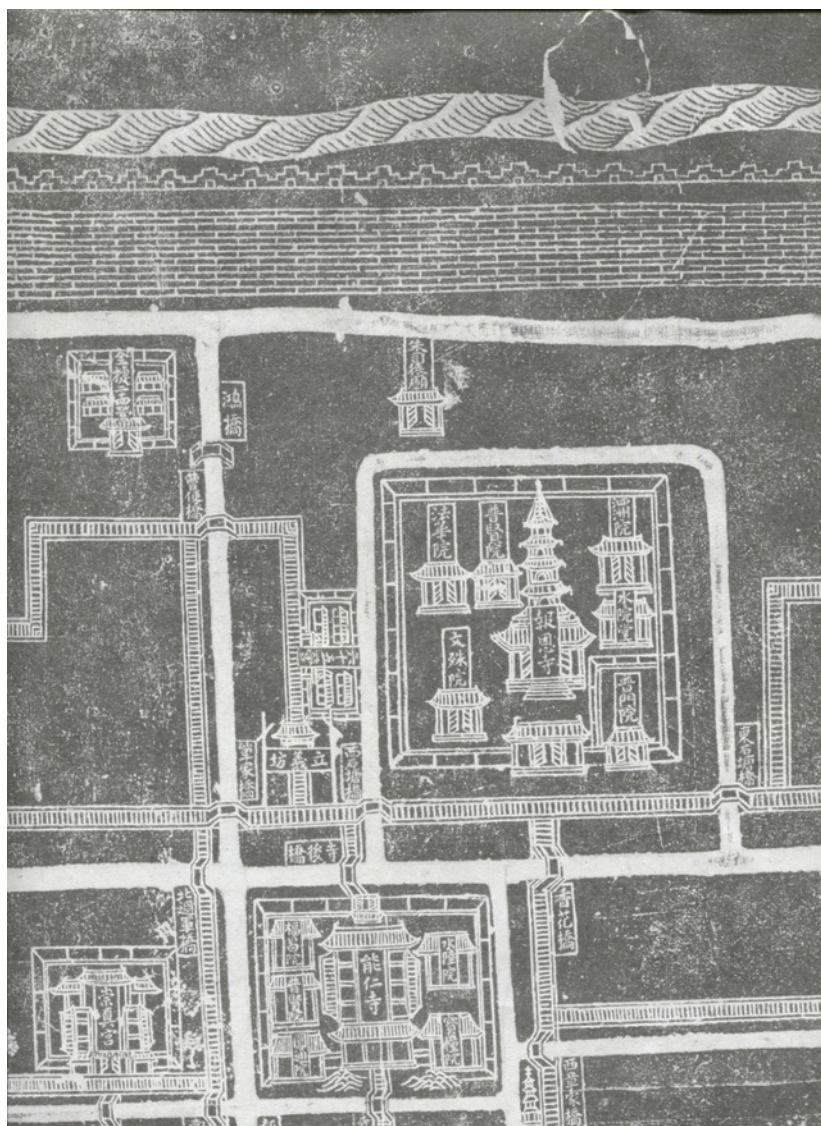
MAP 10. The “Map of Pingjiang:” The Southern Area. This detailed view shows the southern city wall; inside it are the Blue Wave Pavilion to the right and the Confucian Academy to the left.



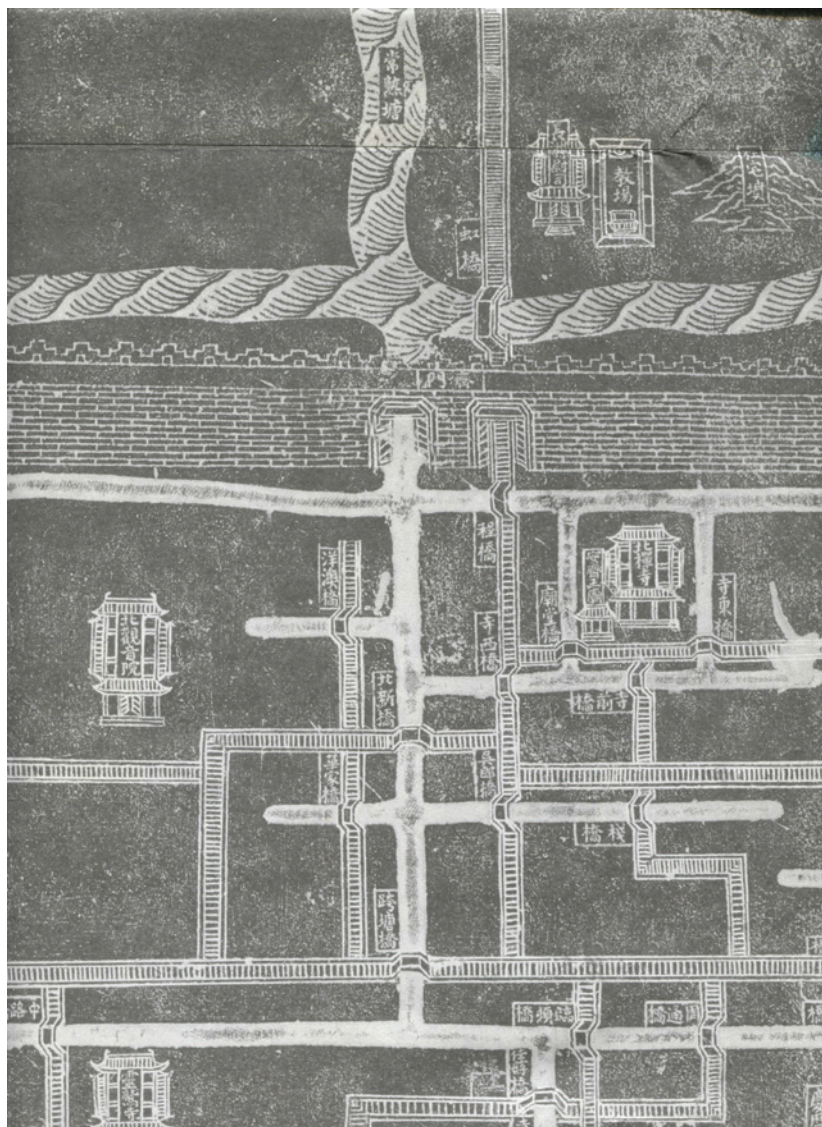
MAP 11. The “Map of Pingjiang.” The Southwestern Area. This image shows the Coiled Gate at the bottom, with the New Bridge spanning the waterway beyond it. On the left-hand side, the Xu Gate appears, though at the time this map was produced, it had been bricked up. The body of water at the lower left corner represents Lake Tai.



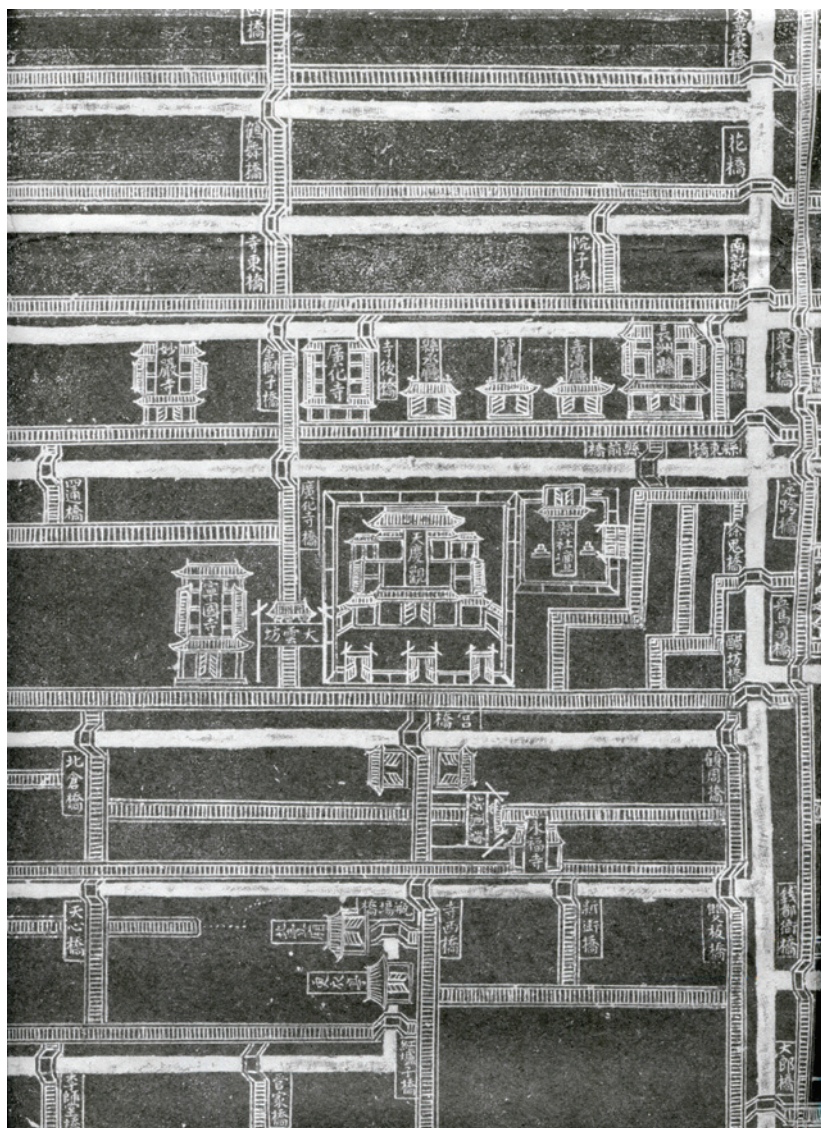
MAP 12. The “Map of Pingjiang:” The Northwestern Area. This detail shows Tiger Hill, topped by Cloud Cliff Temple.



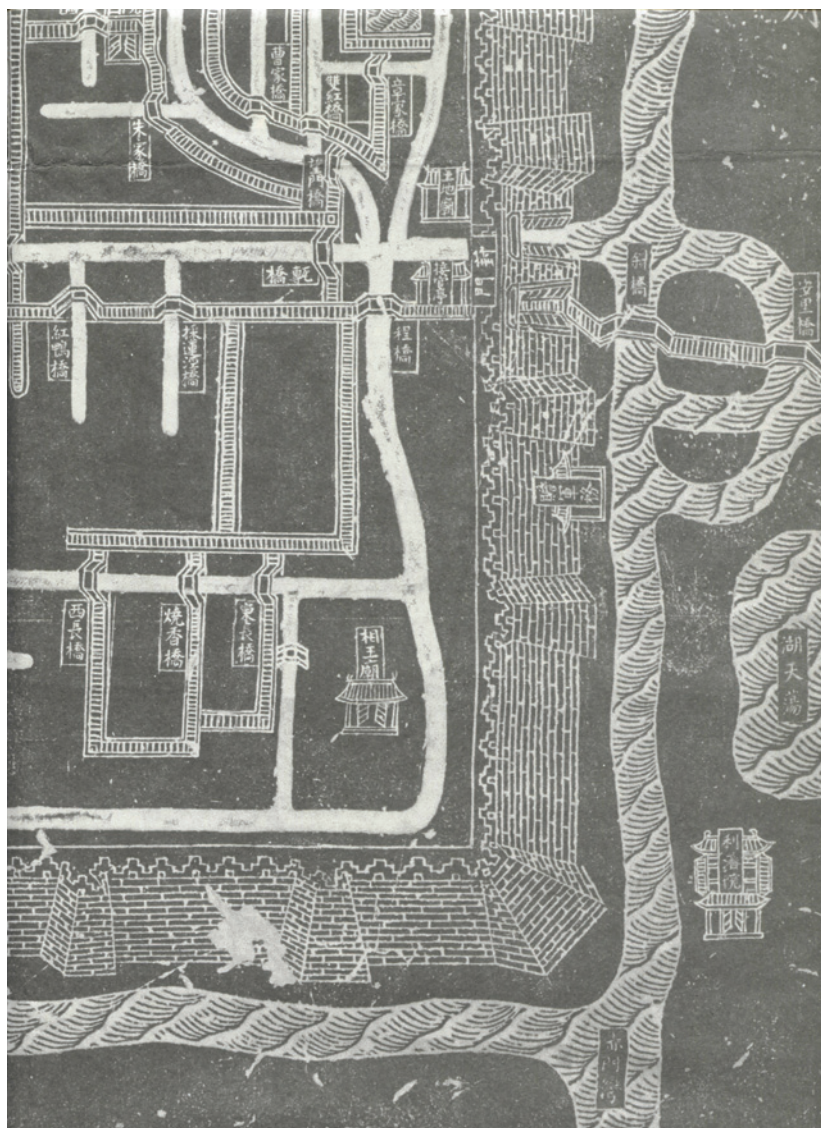
MAP 13. The “Map of Pingjiang.” The Northern Area. This view shows the Requiring Kindness Temple complex, located just inside the northern wall of the city.



MAP 14. The “Map of Pingjiang:” The Northeastern Area. This image shows the Qi Gate complex, with access by both water and road.



MAP 15. The “Map of Pingjiang:” The North-Central Area. This detail shows the Heavenly Blessings Daoist Monastery, originally founded under the name of the Kaiyuan Temple. This institution was located at the heart of Suzhou’s commercial district.



MAP 17. The “Map of Pingjiang:” The Southeastern Area. This image shows the Feng Gate complex.

There is one obvious problem with understanding the information given in the *Supplementary Records*. The original text to which this book refers has been lost, as has the additional text by Zhu Changwen, which contained supporting documentation. The loss of the original illustrated guide is particularly significant given the frequency with which it is mentioned in this text. However, the survival rate of this particular genre of literature is extremely poor; of the many hundreds of illustrated guides produced during the Song dynasty and earlier, only one survives to the present day: the *Illustrated Guide to Yanzhou* (Yanzhou tujing) by Chen Gongliang, in eight fascicles. This particular text was produced in the thirteenth year of the Chunxi reign era (1186).¹ The loss of the original text that Zhu Changwen's book was intended to supplement and his supporting material significantly impairs our understanding of this important early gazetteer, but what remains is an exceptionally rich source of information on the history of the city of Suzhou during the Northern Song dynasty.

AUTHORSHIP AND DATING

The author of the *Supplementary Records*, Zhu Changwen, was a distinguished native of the city of Suzhou. A member of a family that had held office for several generations, Zhu Changwen succeeded in passing the *jìnshì* examination at the age of twenty. That same year, however, he suffered a serious injury to his leg sustained in a fall from his horse, which effectively ended any chance of an official career. Instead of taking up a position in the bureaucracy, Zhu Changwen devoted himself to taking care of his family, first his father and then his brothers, and to studying at home in Suzhou. The author of books on topics ranging from music, calligraphy, the exegesis of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (Chunqiu), and the genealogy of the Zhu family, Zhu Changwen held an official position only for a couple of years, first as an erudite of the National University in 1094, specializing in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, and later as a proofreader in the Department of the Palace Library in 1097. The *Supplementary Records* is by far the most influential and famous of his works, providing in just three fascicles a remarkably detailed and lively account of the city of Suzhou and the surrounding region during the Northern Song dynasty. This portrayal is of particular historical interest given the destruction imposed on Suzhou in 1130 by the Jurchen invading army. It is also valuable given its perceived importance for understanding the function and history of structures rep-

resented on the “Map of Pingjiang,” a map of Suzhou produced in 1229, the world’s first to-scale city map.² Although the much longer *Gazetteer for Wu Commandery* provides a detailed description of this region during the Southern Song dynasty, it draws heavily at many points on the *Supplementary Records*.

The *Supplementary Records* was compiled in 1084. According to the preface (not translated here), the illustrated guides produced for the Bureau of Operations in 1007, which were compiled into the mammoth *Illustrated Guides to the Regions and Counties in the Xiangfu Reign Era*, had proved extremely unsatisfactory.³ There was apparently no standard format, nor was there any particular requirement as to quality. Furthermore, these illustrated guides were frequently reedited when they arrived in the capital, in order to fit the demands of individual officials. This inefficient and muddled method of producing illustrated guides irritated those who believed that they represented an important source of information for officials. Mindful of just how helpful such a book could be, Yan Zhizhi (prefect of Suzhou from 1078 to 1091) mentioned to Zhu Changwen that he would be the ideal person to produce a new and comprehensive gazetteer for Wu Commandery. Zhu Changwen was further encouraged in this endeavor by a close friend named Lian Ding (*jinshi* 1063), and Zhang Hu (*jinshi* 1038), who served as an official in Suzhou between 1081 and 1086, prodded the author to make the final revisions and complete a publishable manuscript. At this stage, the book seems to have circulated in manuscript among the literati elite of Suzhou and important local officials. During this time, it accumulated three postfaces, all of which have subsequently been reprinted as standard with Zhu Changwen’s original preface. The first, by Chang Anmin (*jinshi* 1073), is dated to the first year of the Yuanyou reign era (1086), the second, by Lin Fu (*jinshi* 1097), to the seventh year (1092), and the third, by Zhu Anshang, to the second year of the Yuanfu reign era (1100). Zhu Anshang was responsible for the first printed edition of the text, based on a manuscript in the possession of Zhu Changwen’s son, Zhu Si. This postface indicates that Zhu Anshang had access to the “old [illustrated] guide” (*jiu jing*) that Zhu Changwen’s work was supposed to supplement and found it extremely inadequate. In his study of the *Supplementary Records*, Sue Takashi suggests that Zhu Anshang was referring specifically to the *Illustrated Guide to Suzhou* by Li Zong’e.

A single Song dynasty imprint dated to 1134, produced by Sun You when he was prefect of Suzhou, survives in the collection of the National Cen-

tral Library in Taiwan. Sun You was also the author of the fourth standard postface to the *Supplementary Records*. This book seems to have remained exceedingly rare into late imperial times, with virtually every scholar who wrote about it mentioning the difficulty of laying hands on a copy. There are three colophons to the text recording something of its later history. The first was written by the great Qing dynasty bibliophile Huang Pilie (1763–1825) in 1795, recording his amazement at discovering a Song dynasty edition of the text in the library of Gu Tingyu that had been collated with another copy of the text, originally owned by Ye Wenzhuang and subsequently purchased by the Xu family of Kunshan. According to a colophon attached to this copy, the collation was done in the summer of 1734. The second standard colophon to the *Supplementary Records* was written by Hu Ting in 1852. This concentrates on textual problems caused by incompetent later editors of the text and mentions the Ming dynasty Xuanqingshi edition produced by Qian Gu (1508–1587?).⁴ This particular edition, according to Qian Gu's own postface, quoted in the colophon, was produced by collating a copy of the text in the possession of one Shen Bian with a second Song dynasty copy borrowed from Ye Ziyin of Kunshan. The third standard colophon was written by Weng Tonghe (1830–1904) in 1900. He mentions having had access to four different copies of the text: the Luzhutang recension belonging to the Ye family, the Chuanshilou recension belonging to the Xu family, the Baisong-yichan recension belonging to the Huang family, and the Wanyilou recension belonging to the Wang family.

The modern publication history of the *Supplementary Records* begins with the 1888 edition produced by the Qusitang at Shaoxing. From the late Qing dynasty onward, the *Supplementary Records* has been reprinted numerous times. The translation in this book is based on the critical edition produced by Jin Julin, which used as its starting point a copy of a Song dynasty printed edition in the collection of the Jiang family of Wucheng. This text was then collated and compared with three other editions: the Ming dynasty Xuanqingshi recension and two further Qing dynasty recensions.⁵ There are, however, still some notable problems with the text, not least the fourteen missing characters in the section titled “Controlling the Waters.” No commentary for the *Supplementary Records* has ever been written; therefore the following annotations represent the first proper scholarly analysis of the complexities of this text.

INTERPRETING SUPPLEMENTARY RECORDS TO THE
“ILLUSTRATED GUIDE TO WU COMMANDERY”

By the time of the Northern Song dynasty, gazetteers were developing a standard format and arrangement for their material. The process can already be said to be at work in the Tang dynasty; consideration of the subject matter and arrangement of the text of *Record of the Lands of Wu* shows a close relationship with those of later imperial era gazetteers. With Zhu Changwen's *Supplementary Records*, the relationship is even clearer. Although the *Supplementary Records* is a comparatively short text, it has a relatively complex internal structure, with material divided into twenty-nine categories in three fascicles (see table 3.1). From this comparison, it is clear that the *Supplementary Records* presents much the same kinds of information found in later gazetteers from both Suzhou and the rest of China. There are some topics that the *Supplementary Records* does not discuss that would later become standard in official gazetteers, such as successful examination candidates, military matters, natural disasters, and so on. There are also a couple of subjects that appear in the *Supplementary Records* that are unique to accounts of the city of Suzhou: a discussion of the ancient names of the gates to the old city, communication with the sea, and gardens. (The gates and gardens of Suzhou would also receive special recognition in later imperial era gazetteers, as a sign of their importance for the city.) However, though the order of the text is somewhat different, in essence, the *Supplementary Records* is an extremely early example of a traditional imperial era gazetteer in terms of both structure and content. This represents a significant advance from the comparatively undifferentiated structure seen in *Record of the Lands of Wu* and points the way toward the development of this genre in the future, when much longer texts would be produced, expanding upon the format originally seen in the much shorter style favored during the Northern Song dynasty.

One of the striking characteristics of private gazetteers (and indeed something that occasionally affected those intended for an official audience as well) is the presence of a personal agenda, in particular, the wish to promote the reputation of an individual or group in the history of the locale. Although this does not appear to have been a particular issue with earlier writings such as the *Tales of the Lands of Wu* text in the *Lost Histories of Yue* or *Record of the Lands of Wu*, it is quite clear in the *Supplementary Records* that Zhu Changwen was deeply concerned with documenting the important role played in the history of the city of Suzhou by the great statesman Fan

TABLE 3.1: Comparative Gazetteer Structure

STANDARD GAZETTEER FORMAT		SUPPLEMENTARY RECORDS TO THE “ILLUSTRATED GUIDE TO WU COM- MANDERY”	
1.	Preface and editorial policy (<i>fanli</i>)	1.	Preface (<i>xu</i>)
2.	Maps (<i>yutu</i> or <i>tukao</i>)	2.	Administrative units (<i>fengyu</i>)
3.	Administrative units (<i>jiangyu</i>)	3.	Walled cities and settlements (<i>chengyi</i>)
4.	Topographical features (<i>shanchuan</i>)	4.	Population (<i>hukou</i>)
5.	Famous places (<i>mingsheng</i>), ruins (<i>guji</i>)	5.	Wards and markets (<i>fangshi</i>)
6.	Official buildings (<i>gongshu</i>)	6.	Natural products (<i>wuchan</i>)
7.	Passes, fords, bridges (<i>guanjin qiao- liang</i>)	7.	Customs (<i>fengsu</i>)
8.	Water conservancy (<i>hefang</i> or <i>shuili</i>)	8.	Names of gates (<i>menming</i>)
9.	Natural and man-made disasters (<i>zaiyi</i>)	9.	Schools (<i>xuexiao</i>)
10.	Academies (<i>shuyuan</i>)	10.	The official residence (<i>zhouzhai</i>)
11.	Schools (<i>xuexiao</i>)	11.	The Southern Garden (Nanyuan)
12.	Buddhist and Daoist temples (<i>siguan</i>)	12.	State granaries (<i>cangwu</i>)
13.	Officeholders (<i>zhiguan</i>)	13.	Pavilions and official guesthouses (<i>tingguan</i>)
14.	Successful examination candidates (<i>xuanju</i>)	14.	Communication with the sea (<i>haidao</i>)
15.	Population (<i>hukou</i>) and taxes (<i>fushui</i>)	15.	Officialdom (<i>mushou</i>)
16.	Granary reserves (<i>cangchu</i>)	16.	Famous people (<i>renwu</i>)
17.	Markets (<i>shizhen</i>)	17.	Bridges (<i>qiaoliang</i>)
18.	Natural products (<i>wuchan</i>)	18.	Shrines (<i>simiao</i>)
19.	Customs and festivals (<i>fengsu</i>)	19.	Daoist monasteries (<i>gongguan</i>)
20.	Biographies of dignitaries, etc. (<i>renwu</i>)	20.	Temples (<i>siyuan</i>)
21.	Military institutions (<i>bingshi</i> or <i>bingyi</i>)	21.	Mountains (<i>shan</i>)
22.	Biographies of monks (<i>shilao</i>)	22.	Waters (<i>shui</i>)
23.	Inscriptions (<i>jinshi</i>) and tombs (<i>lingmu</i>)	23.	Controlling the waters (<i>zhishui</i>)
24.	Literary works (<i>yiwen</i>)	24.	Ancient remains (<i>wangji</i>)
25.	Miscellaneous records (<i>zalu</i>)	25.	Gardens (<i>yuandi</i>)
		26.	Tombs (<i>zhongmu</i>)
		27.	Steles (<i>beijie</i>)
		28.	Topics of interest (<i>shizhi</i>)
		29.	Miscellaneous records (<i>zalu</i>)

Note: Items marked in bold do not have an equivalent in the opposite column.

Zhongyan (986–1052, *jinshi* 1015), a close family friend and long-term associate of his grandfather's, who is referred to consistently by his posthumous honorific title, Fan Wenzheng. Fan Zhongyan's position as the hero of the *Supplementary Records* is clear to any reader, for his words and deeds are described in loving detail throughout the text. The "Names of Gates" section records his insistence that access to the ancient city of Suzhou should be improved by unblocking one of the gates, the "Schools" section describes his role in the establishment of the Confucian Academy, while the "State Granaries" section documents a minor reform to the system of collecting grain taxes that substantially simplified the procedure. "Temples" records the sites of the tombs of Fan Zhongyan's ancestors, "Mountains" describes his literary works and their reception, and "Controlling the Waters" discusses his extensive knowledge of irrigation matters and the changes he introduced, particularly the dredging of a network of new canals. The "Gardens" section mentions one of Fan Zhongyan's most famous works: his Community House, a charity designed to benefit needy members of his clan. No doubt part of the bias toward Fan Zhongyan is due to the close connections between the Zhu and Fan families; however, Fan Zhongyan had an undeniably enormous and enduring impact on the city of Suzhou, which fully justifies Zhu Changwen's decision to record his life and deeds in such detail. However, while the figure of Fan Zhongyan towers above other local luminaries in the account of eminent men in the *Supplementary Records*, there is further evidence of a distinct bias in favor of his friends and associates. A number of the other Northern Song individuals mentioned in approving terms are known to have been friends and associates of Fan Zhongyan.

Fan Zhongyan's relationship with the city of Suzhou, his native place, was unusually complex. The Fan family, which claimed descent from Fan Pang (d. 169) of the Eastern Han dynasty, produced many generations of officials, though before Fan Zhongyan they never rose to particularly high rank.⁶ Fan Zhongyan's father, Fan Yong, died when he was only two *sui*. His mother, née Xie, quickly married again (a decision attributed to poverty in all accounts of her son's life) and moved to live with her new husband, Zhu Wenhan, in Shandong. Fan Zhongyan was adopted by his stepfather and given a new name: Zhu Shuo. It was under this name that he took and passed the *jinshi* examination in 1015. His first act after this success was to return to the city of Suzhou, a place he had left as a child, and petition his clan to allow him to return to his original name.⁷ This request was initially greeted with some suspicion as to his motives but was finally granted. It was there-

fore under his original name that Fan Zhongyan launched his official career, in which he would not only attain enormously high rank but also become famous as an educational and bureaucratic reformer. Given the demands of his career, it is hardly surprising that he spent virtually no time at all in Suzhou. His only extended stay was in the years 1034–1035, when he served as prefect.⁸ During this time he achieved a great deal, however, instituting a number of reforms that would be of major importance in the development of both the city of Suzhou and China as a whole.

Fan Zhongyan's most important contribution to the development of his home region was his reorganization of the canal network around the city. A noted expert on water management, he oversaw a significant overhaul in the existing system of waterways and designed the routes for five new canals that would carry excess water away from overburdened sections of the network. The underlying principles that inform his designs continued to be regarded as axiomatic well into the Yuan dynasty, with no significant changes or reforms introduced until the late imperial era. This important program of development played a major role in securing the livelihoods of countless people over the next couple of centuries and no doubt saved many from the effects of flooding. At the same time, Fan Zhongyan was also responsible for founding the Confucian Academy in the city. This was part of his ongoing interest in grassroots-level education; he had founded similar institutions during previous postings with the provincial administration. Of these, the Suzhou academy was to prove by far the most successful. Fan Zhongyan, though he succeeded in passing the *jinshi* examination at the age of twenty-seven *sui*, seems to have believed strongly that his early education was impeded by the lack of good local schools. He also believed that it was among the government's responsibilities to provide such institutions as centers for training future bureaucrats and administrators. (This seems to have been part and parcel of changing attitudes toward officialdom during the Song dynasty, whereby government employment ceased to be largely the preserve of the gentry, as in earlier dynasties, but was regarded as a profession undertaken by individuals who depended on their government salaries.) Although the Confucian Academy in Suzhou got off to a rocky start, it would eventually become the foremost center of learning in late imperial China, producing a truly remarkable number of exceptional scholars and administrators.

Perhaps one of Fan Zhongyan's most unusual achievements was his establishment of the Community House. The purpose of this charitable organization was to keep poor members of the clan from absolute indigence, and it

was funded by the purchase of one thousand *qing* of top-quality farmland. This was eventually expanded to three thousand *qing* under the auspices of Fan Zhongyan's sons. Although clan charities had been established before, none had been comparable in scale, and other wealthy families seeking to prolong the prosperity of their houses followed his example. It has been suggested that Fan Zhongyan's Community House was modeled on Buddhist monasteries that supported themselves with rents and produce harvested from charitable fields. This idea can be traced back to his youth, which he spent studying at the Liquan Temple in Shandong.⁹ Be that as it may, this charity would establish his reputation as an exceptionally devoted member of the clan and is particularly interesting in the context of his early struggles to convince the family to permit him to return to his original name and position within the house.

If Fan Zhongyan is the hero of the *Supplementary Records*, the suggestion raised by the Japanese scholar Sue Takashi that Wang Anshi (1021–1086, *jinshi* 1042) is the villain needs to be considered in some detail. Wang Anshi is mentioned only once in the book, in the context of a poem he wrote about Gathered Illumination Temple (Huijusi) in Kunshan County. The poem was subsequently inscribed on rock at the site. This extremely neutral reference is far from evidence that Wang Anshi should be considered the villain. Sue supports this suggestion by noting that Zhu Changwen consistently refused to accept any kind of job (citing chronic pain caused by an accidental injury) except for the period in 1086–1094 when he worked at the Confucian Academy at Suzhou and then as an erudite at the National University in 1094, when Wang Anshi's reforms were being dismantled by the conservative faction then in power. If this interpretation is correct, Zhu Changwen's resignation in 1094 was prompted solely by political considerations.¹⁰ Sue goes on to suggest that the *Supplementary Records* should be regarded as an intrinsically anti-Wang Anshi text. In this reading, Zhu Changwen was inspired to write his book by the fall of the famous chancellor and reformer, which he believed would result in the rescission of Wang Anshi's redrawn internal national boundaries.¹¹ The *Supplementary Records* is therefore a gazetteer recording the history of a redesigned district, part of a nationwide project to record new administrative changes that was never completed because Wang Anshi's reforms were—as it turned out—not completely rescinded.¹² The problem with this reading of the text, as will be obvious to anyone who reads it, is that the *Supplementary Records* is extremely detailed and very carefully written, and it represents an enormous amount of work on the part

of the author. It is hard to imagine that any partisan, no matter how fanatically opposed to Wang Anshi's reforms, would produce such an impressive work on the off chance that his enemy's administrative changes would be reversed and a new set of gazetteers required. It would seem much more helpful to view this book as a work of local history, written by a proud native son of the city of Suzhou with the intention of establishing beyond all possible doubt the economic, cultural, and historical importance of this place.

Perhaps one of the most striking characteristics of this book is the author's remarkable erudition and the exceptional literary quality of the work as a whole. This is no doubt a reflection of the unusually excellent education he received and his access to an extensive library, but it is also illustrative of the vast body of literature that had sprung up describing the city of Suzhou, its most important monuments and great natural beauty. *Tales of the Lands of Wu* does not quote literature written about the region, probably because nothing of any particular literary merit had been produced about Suzhou at that time. When *Record of the Lands of Wu* was compiled in the Tang dynasty, however, the situation had changed significantly. *Record of the Lands of Wu* cites eighteen different works. Seven are ancient historical texts, including Zuo's *Tradition*, *Discourses of the States*, and *Records of the Grand Historian*. Two are historical works dealing specifically with the history of the ancient southern kingdoms of Wu and Yue: the *Lost Histories of Yue* and the *Spring and Autumn Annals of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yue*. *Record of the Lands of Wu* also quotes the ancient dictionary *Refined Words* and Guo Pu's commentary on this text. Only two works of poetry were quoted in this gazetteer, Zuo Si's "Wu Capital Rhapsody" and Lu Ji's "Songs of Wu," both dating to the Western Jin dynasty. Zhu Changwen's *Supplementary Records* contains the exact same quotations, indicating the ongoing importance of these two long poems in the literature about this region, but by the time of its writing during the Northern Song dynasty, not only had a truly vast body of literature been written by both residents of Suzhou and visitors to the region, but it had come to be accepted as an important part of the city's heritage. Although many later imperial era gazetteers incorporate a final section of literature, the *Supplementary Records* embeds the quotations in the text (a style later adopted by Fan Chengda, author of the *Gazetteer for Wu Commandery*), enabling a close connection between individual structures in the city and the response of some of the most famous poets in Chinese history to these sites. This feature adds greatly to the literary value of this extraordinary text.

SUPPLEMENTARY RECORDS TO THE
“ILLUSTRATED GUIDE TO WU COMMANDERY”

FASCICLE 1

Administrative Units

Suzhou is located within the boundaries of Yangzhou, as described in the “Tribute of Yu” chapter of the *Book of Documents*, which says: “When the Three Rivers entered the sea, the Trembling Marsh was stilled.” That is a reference to this land. In the Zhou dynasty, this was the kingdom of Wu. Before this, Taibo and his younger brother Zhongyong were both sons of Taiwang and the older brothers of King Jili. Taibo thought that the world should give their allegiance to his younger brother Jili, and so he and Zhongyong then fled south to escape [from the consequences of their position]. The place that they lived was named Gouwu by its inhabitants, and the more than one thousand households of Wu people thought him righteous and followed him.¹³ At that time it was the end of the Shang dynasty, and he built inner and outer city walls to protect them, and thus he became Taibo of Wu. *Zuo’s Tradition of the Spring and Autumn Annals* says: “Taibo in his square-cut robe and official hat cultivated the ceremonies of Zhou. Zhongyong succeeded him.”¹⁴ After Taibo founded the kingdom of Wu, it was five generations until King Wu conquered the Shang dynasty, and then he sought out the descendants of Taibo and Zhongyong and found Zhouzhang. Zhouzhang was already the ruler [of this region], and thus he obtained an official enfeoffment and was granted the title of earl.¹⁵ *Discourses of the States* says: “To obtain a jade baton of investiture, you need to have received a mandate; that is why we speak of an earl of Wu and not of the king of Wu.”¹⁶ Fourteen generations after Zhouzhang, the Unratified Ruler of Wu, Shoumeng, was established, and Wu became a much greater country, and he took the title of king. However, the *Spring and Autumn Annals* still writes of him as an Unratified Ruler.¹⁷ In the spring of the seventh year of Lord Cheng of Lu [584 BCE], Wu attacked Tan. That autumn Wu entered Zhoulai.¹⁸ At this time the ruling house of Chu had to take to its heels seven times within the course of one year [to escape the armies of Wu], and Wu took control of all of the Man and Yi barbarians who had previously given their allegiance to Chu, and for the very first time they opened communication with the Upper States [of the Zhou confederacy]. After another four rulers, we come to King Helü of Wu.

The Capital City within the kingdom of Wu, since the time of Taibo, had always been known as Wu Walled City [Wucheng], and it was located in the Wastes of Meili, within what are now the borders of Wuxi County. When [King] Helü came to the throne, he moved the capital to what is now the site of [Su]zhou. At the same time, he went west to defeat Chu and enter Ying, and to the north he threatened both Qi and Jin.¹⁹ It is probably around this time that Wu and Yue established their borders along the Zhe River, though the disasters wrought by Yue were then still far in the future. The *Spring and Autumn Annals of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yue* says: “In the fifth year of the reign of King Goujian he went as a vassal to the kingdom of Wu, and his ministers performed a sacrifice to ensure a good journey above the Zhe River.”²⁰ It is likely that the Zhe [River] formed the border of the kingdom of Wu. In the seventh year of King Goujian’s reign, when he was released from imprisonment and returned to his kingdom, he made many generous gifts to King Fuchai of Wu, and Fuchai was pleased with him. Then he bestowed a document upon him, giving him an even greater fief: to the east it reached to Gouyong, to the west it reached to Zuili, to the south it reached to Gumo, to the north it reached to Pingyuan, in all more than 800 *li* [448 km]. Zixu remonstrated about this, but he was not heeded, this is all described in the *Spring and Autumn Annals of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yue*, and the situation along the southern border of Wu was increasingly tense and dangerous.²¹ In the end Goujian defeated Wu and surrounded [the capital]. In the twelfth year of the reign of Lord Ai of Lu [482 BCE], Yue destroyed Wu, and [the lands of] Wu then became part of Yue, though the king of Yue never thought of living in Wu.

After King Goujian, there were six kings before we come to Wujiang, and more than 140 years went by, and then [Yue was] destroyed by King Wei of Chu, who annexed the lands that had formerly been part of the kingdom of Wu. King Wei’s great-grandson was King Kaolie, and his prime minister was Huang Xie, Lord Chunshen. He then enfeoffed Lord Chunshen with Wu and appointed his son to be a viceroy, living in Wu. When the Qin dynasty unified these lands, it established Kuaiji Commandery. In the fourth year of the Yongjian reign era [129] of Han Shundi, Wu Commandery was separated from Kuaiji, with the main stream of the Zhe River as the boundary. During the Jin, Song, Qi, Liang, and Chen dynasties, even though it lost some territory, the commandery name never changed, and together with Wuxing and Danyang, this region was known as the Three Wus. When the Sui dynasty pacified the Chen, the Salt Monopoly Office was detached and moved to Hang[zhou]. In the Tang dynasty, the seven districts—Wu,

Changzhou, Jiaxing, Kunshan, Changshu, Haiyan, and Huating—were known as Xiong Commandery. In the second year of the Qianyuan reign era [579], Changzhou was temporarily made a military prefecture, but this was disbanded in the Dali reign era [766–779]. During the Five Dynasties, Jiaxing, Haiyan, and Huating were split off to form Xiuzhou, so there were only five counties left attached to Su[zhou]. When the Qian family founded the [Wuyue] dynasty, the court decided that the military commissioner of Pingjiang should be in control of the same counties as before, and they made this an “honored commandery.”

Walled Cities and Other Settlements

King Helü asked [Wu] Zixu once upon a time: “My kingdom is located in a southeastern backwater, in a dangerous and damp [place]; it suffers harm from both rivers and the sea. We have no internal defenses and no external protection, we have established neither granaries nor storehouses, nor have we opened up new land for cultivation. What is to be done about this situation?” Then Zixu persuaded him to build inner and outer city walls, to establish defenses, build granaries, and create an armory. King Helü put Zixu in charge of the planning [of this great enterprise] and set him to testing the land and tasting the waters, and, in accordance with the constellations of the sky and the lay of the land, to build a main city wall 40 *li* [22 km] in circumference and a citadel 10 *li* [5.5 km] in circumference, pierced by eight city gates corresponding to the eight winds.²² At this time it was the sixth year of the reign of King Gong of Zhou. From the fall of Wu to the present day, almost two thousand years have passed, the Qin, Han, Sui and Tang dynasties have risen and fallen, and yet the names of the canals and gates of this city have never been changed. Lu Ji wrote a poem that says:

The Heavenly Gate soars upward;
Its flying buttresses straddle the waves.

The basic outlines of these things still survive. In the ninth year of the Kaihuang reign era of the Sui dynasty [589], after the pacification of Chen, the left bank of the Yangzi was in a state of civil war. In the eleventh year [591], Yang Su led his army to pacify [this region], and because the city of Su[zhou] had been besieged and there were no viable defenses, he moved his followers east of Mount Heng, to the southwest of the old city, to below Mount

Huang. At the end of the Wude reign era [618–626] of the Tang dynasty, [the city] moved back to its original location, which suggests that it had not been a good idea to move it in the first place. Looking at the area within the city walls, [one sees that] it is full of waterways that cut it up into islands and which then debouch into the Trembling Marsh. These little canals running through [the city center] are sandwiched by roads; otherwise the waters would not run peacefully past people's homes.²³ Although this is a marshy country, there has never been a terrible flood inside the city. If it were not for the fact that wise men built it originally and capable men followed in their footsteps, would this be possible?

The Capital of Wu, according to a common popular tradition, was located next to Lodging Beauties Palace in the olden days; this is wrong. Lodging Beauties Palace and [Gu]xu Tower were traveling palaces or separate residences, and that is all. When the kingdom of Wu was in its golden age, [the kings] were very extravagant, and so they fenced off West Mountain [Xishan] to form a hunting park, and they regarded the Five Lakes as their own pond, and even this was not enough to satisfy their desires. In the past, Helü governed from inside the city walls in the autumn and winter, and in the spring and summer he ruled from outside. At first light he ate his breakfast at Mount Niu; in the morning, he traveled to [Gu]su Tower, shooting at Archery Bank and driving past Traveler's Tower, enjoying himself at Stone Walled City [Shicheng], and racing his dogs at Long Island. The places where he could entertain himself were many indeed! *Zuo's Tradition* records the words of Zixi of Chu, saying: "Fuchai has towers, pavilions, embankments, and lakes wherever he stays; when he spends the night, he has women of noble and humble birth with him; when he travels for one day, everything that he wants must be provided."²⁴ Thus you can believe that even today you can still go to see some of these ruins from high antiquity.

At the End of the Tang Dynasty, bandits rose up, and the military commander of Zhexi, Zhou Bao [814–888], appointed Yang Maoshi as censor, but he was captured by the bandits.²⁵ In the first year of the Longji reign era [889], Qian Liu [King Wusu of the Wuyue dynasty] sent his younger brother [Qian] Qiu to destroy Xu Yue in this region, under the leadership of the General of Area Command Shen Canquan.²⁶ After that, in the time of Li You, Sun Ru [d. 892],²⁷ Yang Xingmi [852–905],²⁸ and Tai Meng [d. 904] three times sacked the commandery seat.²⁹ In the fifth year of the Qian-ning reign era [898], after [Qian] Liu had pacified Dong Chang [d. 896], he sent his general Gu Quanwu to sail out to sea from Kuaiji leading an army

to attack him, and Tai Meng was expelled.³⁰ During this decade and more, the people suffered much from military attacks, fire and plunder reduced the place to scorched earth, and buildings dating to the Tang dynasty were destroyed completely. Once the Qian family established the Wuyue dynasty, these troubles gradually ceased. From the Qianning reign era to the third year of the Taiping xingguo reign era [978] when Qian Chu [King Zhongyi of the Wuyue dynasty] handed over his territory [to the Song dynasty], seventy-eight years passed.³¹ From the time when Qian Chu handed over his territory to the present day, the seventh year of the Yuanfeng reign era [1084], is 107 years. In this century the wealth of this region has far surpassed that of the Tang dynasty; the city walls have been reinforced, pavilions and towers stand within sight of one another, flying [buttresses] and bridges look like rainbows standing in serried ranks, and in both nearby suburbs and narrow alleys, all the wells [are lined] with brick. It is the numerous official equipages and the abundance of people that make [this city] the finest in the southeast. This indeed is a golden age of peace!

Population

Kuaiji Commandery, which, in the Western Han dynasty, included the lands of what is now Zhejiang, had a population of 223,038 households. Wu Commandery, which, in the Eastern Han dynasty, included the lands of what is now Western Zhejiang, had a population of 164,164 households. Wu Commandery, in the Jin dynasty, including the lands of Hangzhou, Xiuzhou, and Muzhou, had a population of 25,000 households. Suzhou, in the Tang dynasty, including what is now Xiuzhou, had a population that measured 11,859 households at the beginning of the dynasty. By the Tianbao reign era [742–755], it had grown to 76,421 households. When King Wusu of the Qian family partitioned Su[zhou] to form Xiu[zhou] in order to protect his own position, [the counties of] Wu, Changzhou, Kunshan, and Changshu were made subordinate to Su[zhou]. He also partitioned Wu County to form Wujiang, which contained just five towns. King Zhongyi presented his country [to the Song dynasty] and remained there as an official under its control. Then the court and the people were able to have some peace and quiet, and the harvests flourished. In the fourth year of the Dazhong xiangfu reign era [1011], there was a population of 66,139 households. In the more than seventy years that have passed between the [Dazhong] xiangfu reign era and the present day, successive rulers have carried on the labors of their ances-

tors, with ever-greater benevolence stretching to every corner of the earth. What living creature has not benefited from this? In the third year of the Yuanfeng reign era [1080], the population stood at 199,892 households and 379,487 individuals. Ah, how impressive! In the Han dynasty, this district was made up of a single county, but by the Tang dynasty, it represented more than half a commandery, and its population has more than doubled by the present day to the point that it cannot be fully enumerated. At no point in the past can there have been such a glorious age as we know today. From here, 80,000 lengths of silk are shipped annually, together with 25,000 *liang* of silk brocade, 349,000 *hu* of raw grain (the grain shipment has been abolished but is still listed here), and 85,000 strings of cash in lieu of military service, all of which is in addition [to the regular tax burden]. There is also the salt tax, and the profit from the levy on alcohol, which is also very great.³² If you look at just this one commandery, you can know the greatness of our empire.

In the past, [when Confucius went to the state of Wei, Ran You acted as his charioteer. Confucius commented on how many people there were]. Ran You said: "Since there are so many, what can be done to help them?" Confucius said: "Make them rich." [Ran You said]: "Having made them rich, what can be done to help them?" [Confucius] said: "Instruct them." [Confucius then went on to say]: "If there was someone who would employ me, in the course of [twelve] months, I would have done something considerable, and after three years, [the government] would be perfect."³³ Now after a century of peace, there are signs that everything within the four seas is flourishing! Since his imperial majesty unites in his person the Way and Virtue, he is alert to every sign that will allow him to achieve his great work, discussing good government and rectifying the laws, going out in the morning to his chariot, at dusk traveling throughout the realm, so that every ministry and government office carries out their duties properly. He regulates us with ritual, he reconciles us with music, elevating the people to a glorious state last seen during the reigns of the sage-kings Yao and Shun and the early dynasties. Such is this age.

Wards and Markets

The Illustrated Guide [to Wu Commandery] mentions the names of thirty wards and thirty markets that have been handed down from antiquity. For example, as for Silk Stream Ward, some people say that Confucius climbed Mount Tai and looked east at the Heavenly Gate of Wu, and then he sighed

and said: “There are white horses [going through] the gates of Wu like a hank of silk.” This gave it its present name. The name of Golden Oriole Market is derived from a poem by Bai [Juyi], which runs:

By the entrance to Golden Oriole Lane, the greenfinches try to sing;
At the head of the canal, by Lucky Magpie [Bridge], the ice still holds fast.³⁴

The others all have auspicious names as well, but it is impossible to discover the source. Some alley names are recorded in textual records, for example, Sword Dance and Curved Water Trough, but no one knows their original location.³⁵ Thus we know that if things are not preserved in written records, it is difficult for them to be handed down for any length of time, and that is the reason things that are mentioned in gazetteers should not be omitted. In recent years the names of wards and markets have in many cases lost any good meaning, and people don’t use them. In some cases, a name was chosen because of a particular circumstance. For example, Numinous Fungus Ward was so named because of Jiang Tang [980–1054, *jinshi* 1008], the auxiliary academician of the Bureau of Military Affairs; Official Hat Ward was so named because of the attendant censor Fan Shidao [1005–1063]; Celebration of Virtue Ward was so named because of Lu Ge [1004–1085], the adviser to the heir apparent.³⁶ Each of these places obtained its name from a person resident there. It seems that in the past, people thought it was a good thing to name a place after some outstanding [individual]. Thus they would select some ancient appellation and add new nomenclature to it, and thus there were enough names for [everything in] the district, and they were able to proclaim good deeds and spread the fame of virtuous actions. Is this not a beautiful idea? In the past, Mei Fu resigned his official post, changed his name and surname, and became a gateman at the Wu market. To the present day, there is a gate at the Western Market. Is it possible that this was the place where he lived as a recluse?

Natural Products

The Lands of Wu are rich, and the natural products are abundant, so the wealth of its plains and marshes and the produce of its lakes and sea would be impossible to list in their entirety. As for grains, they reap barley and sow rice, and in one year they produce two crops. There is both early and late-cropping rice, and the names of these varieties are very complicated. Farmers plant those that suit the labor available and are appropriate for the land. The

variety called “Arrow” [Jianzi] is the most popular, and this is presented to the capital annually.³⁷ As for fruit, enormous fragrant mandarin oranges are sent as tribute from this commandery.³⁸ Citrus fruit are categorized according to whether they are red or green; pears are valued according to the fineness of their stalks. When they are listed out in order, is there any rarity that does not grow here? As for herbs, there are those that are recorded for their medical properties and those that are hymned in the poem “Encountering Sorrow” [Lisao], and those that have spread out between the dry land and the marshes.³⁹ The seaweed is edible, the mountain herbs can be picked, orchid flowers perfume the whole country, and as a result many people enjoy entering the mountains and the valleys. As for bamboos, there are large [varieties] like the *yundang*, there are small [varieties] like the *jiangui*, there are those that become speckled when they are touched by the dew, and there are those that become purple when they encounter frost; there are those that grow very tall and those that produce many shoots, growing lushly and soughing in the wind.⁴⁰ They grow tall enough to touch the clouds, and yet they are light enough to move with the breeze. As for trees, there are junipers, cypresses, pines, and catalpas and palms, *nanmu* trees, firs, and cassia.⁴¹ In winter, the cliff faces remain green, and majestic forests spread as far as the eye can see; the Sichuan pepper tree’s panicles and the gardenia’s fruit grow as luxuriously as you could wish.⁴² As for flowers, there are magnolias and tree peonies, both of which have been recorded here since ancient times. Many varieties of peony [are grown here,] and they are admired by travelers for their great beauty and value, which quite equals that [of the peonies] of the capital and Luoyang.⁴³ There are water lilies as white as snow, and pale lotus blossoms that float across the lakes; in the past, they were praised in verse by both [Lu] Wentong and [Bai Juyi]. The double lotus and “Wounded Lotus roots” are mentioned in historical records.⁴⁴

As for our feathered friends—for waterfowl, there is the migratory wild swan, and land birds include the [Jiaozhi] kingfisher, the crane, chicken, swan, and egret, the duck, heron, seagull, and goose.⁴⁵ Some of these birds are enormous, and others are tiny, but they all congregate here. The birds of Huating are particularly splendid and seem for all the world like something out of a fairy story—whether singing from the marshes and the plains or calling from their cages. As for things with scales or shells, there are chub, yellow croaker, catfish, and carp; sturgeon, paddlefish, yellow-headed catfish, and gobies; horseshoe crabs, turtles, and alligators; crabs, crayfish, snails, and clams. All sorts of strange and peculiar things can be obtained here at

any time. When the autumn winds blow, the Song River perch grow fat; in spring when the trees flower, the croakers arrive. How can one even begin to describe this? The people who live along the seashore live by the profits from netted fish and potted crustaceans, just as they might from farming a market garden. Strange rocks from Lake Tai, rare teas from Mount Bao, purple water caltrops from Qianli, the finest textiles and grass mats, which are then transported to the four directions—all these things are produced here.⁴⁶ Great ships come and go. To the north they voyage as far as the capital, to the south they travel as far as the shores of the Pacific Ocean, and thus a vast amount of clothing and hats, along with a myriad of foods and other products, are all brought together here in this one region of the Yangzi delta.

Customs

Ever Since Taibo Gave Up the World and Jizha refused to accept a kingdom, virtue has spread widely [in this part of China]. After the Western and the Eastern Han, customs here became even more pure and refined. In the past, the prefect of Wu, Mi Bao, left to make a tour of the cities under his jurisdiction, and he asked Tang Jing of the Staff Agency what was the most praiseworthy thing about the customs [of this commandery]. [Tang] Jing said: “Every family in this region has filial sons, and every temple here was established by a loyal minister; those with literary talents become Confucian scholars, while those with military talents become generals.”⁴⁷ People at the time thought that this was simply flattery. There is a poem by Lu Ji that reads:

These mountains and marshes hide many educated men;
The customs of the country are simple and good.
Taibo gave rise to a great flood of benevolence;
Zhongyong whipped up its waves.⁴⁸

Is this not true? The fame of the followers of Zhu Maichen, Lu Ji, and Gu Yewang has resounded for generations, and thus people admired scholarship; the disciples of Zhi Dun, Daosheng [355–434], and Huixiang recited the sutras in these mountains, and thus people respected the Buddha.⁴⁹ There is a good reason why many people in Wu take up Confucian learning and appreciate the teachings of the Buddha. Of course, since ancient times, there have also been many people who were greedy and boastful. The “Wu Capital Rhapsody” says:

If [the inhabitants of the region] are competing over territory,
They annex borderlands and seize villages for themselves.
If they wish to flaunt their luxurious living,
They wear pearl-encrusted garments and dine off the finest delicacies.⁵⁰

These are not empty words. Since this region was pacified by our present dynasty, people have been profoundly affected by the virtue [emanating from the court], so that even tiny children all know the importance of the brush and ink, while even white-haired elders do not recognize spears and halberds. That which benefits the people must be given to them; that which harms the people must be eliminated. The fields here are well fertilized and rich, so abundant harvests are the norm; the marshlands are well watered, and this can be used to irrigate paddy fields. Within the borders [of this commandery], there are no bandits or robbers, and the villages have no violent and wicked inhabitants; this can indeed be described as a paradise on earth. In a place where people are cared for, where elders and betters are respected, where food is abundant, where weddings and funerals are held in a modest and restrained manner, and where people enjoy donating money [to good causes] and do not practice usury, there are many people who give up all that they have and do not worry about their future prospects. It is only those who hold high office who have the means to effect such a change.

Names of Gates

When King Helü of Wu First Established This City, he built eight land gates to correspond to the eight winds and eight water gates to correspond to the eight trigrams. The “Wu Capital Rhapsody” says:

An outer enclosure completely surrounds it;
There are double walls with interlocking corners,
Passage gates, two times eight,
Watercourses and land thoroughfares.⁵¹

Liu [Yuxi] [772–842] wrote a poem that says:

Two times eight the city gates are open onto the roads;
Five thousand cavalry lead out their banners and flags.⁵²

These [gates] have been famous for a long time. As for the eight [land] gates, to the south there is the Coiled Gate, because it once featured a sculpture of a curled dragon, though some say that this area is half land and half water, eddying and curling around, and that is why it is called the “Coiled [Gate].” [The other southern gate] is called “Snake Gate,” on account of [snake] corresponding to *si* in the twelve signs of the zodiac. They say that since the kingdom of Yue was located in the region of Si, to have a wooden snake facing north [on Snake Gate] represents the subordination of Yue to Wu. To the west there is Heavenly Gate, which corresponds to Gate of the Heavens [Changhemen]. There is also Xu Gate; [Wu] Zixu used to live beside it, and hence the people called it this. When King Fuchai conducted a campaign to attack Qi, Master Chao of Xu Gate commanded the Upper Army, and it was perhaps so named because Master Chao lived here at that time.⁵³ Outside the gate is the Xu Gate Embankment. To the east there is Lou Gate; the name is derived from Lou County, since the road there [departs from this gate]. In the Qin dynasty, it was called “Liu [Gate],” pronounced the same as *liu* [to stay]. In the Han dynasty, they called it “Lou,” which is the same as modern Kunshan. There is also Feng Gate, which takes its name from Mount Fengyu. Mount Feng[yu] used to belong to Wu Commandery, but it is now located within Wuxing Commandery. In the local language, *feng* [embankment; MC, pjwɔŋ] is a homophone of *feng* [wild rice; MC, p^hjwɔŋ].⁵⁴ *Feng* is a kind of wild rice whose roots twine into knots underground, and hence it can grow in abundance. Perhaps this is true. There is also Jiang Gate, because the king of Wu employed Gan Jiang to forge precious swords here. It is now called “Artisan’s [Gate]” [Jiangmen], with a change in the tone. To the north there is Qi Gate, so named because the daughter of Lord Jing of Qi married the crown prince of Wu, and she would climb up here to look toward Qi. In addition, to the south there is Chi Gate, and to the north there is Pacification Gate, but these do not count toward the eight. Some say that Pacification Gate was called “Wu Gate” in antiquity because Wu Xian was buried here. In the time of Wu, they did not open the gates on the east side because they wanted to destroy Yue. Later, they gradually began to close some of the other gates, because the more access points there were, the more difficult it was to guard the city and keep it safe. Today there are only five gates that are open. The central part of Feng Gate leading onto the highway was blocked, but Fan Wenzheng gave orders that it be cleared so that the gate would be accessible, and it is still in use today, which is very convenient.

Schools

Wu Commandery did not have a school in antiquity, and only a handful of people could read and write. During the Jingyou reign era [1034–1037], Fan Wenzheng used his position as head of the Hanlin Academy to bewail the fact that [a system of] prefectural schools had not yet been established. My late grandfather, the minister [Zhu Yi], led the people of [Su]zhou in asking permission to build a school, and [Fan] Wenzheng also asked permission from the court, which was then granted, and they cut off one corner of the Southern Garden [Nanyuan] to build it.⁵⁵ When it was completed, some people thought it was far too big, but Master Fan said: “I am afraid that in the future there will be trouble because it is too small.” Then he decreed the study fees and appointed Confucian teachers. Later prefects carried on his great work. Bureau Director Fu Yan [*jinshi* 1011] also built the Six Classics Pavilion.⁵⁶ After Master [Hu] Anding took the place under his wing and was the first to live there, he gathered together many great scholars such as Wang Huizhi [Wang] Feng, Zhang Shengmin [Zhang] Chu, and Zhang Gongda [Zhang] Boyu, who carried on his work.⁵⁷ A great many students came here, and a never-ending stream of them succeeded in passing the examinations. Gradually, individuals of the caliber of Teng Yuanfa, Grand Master for Consultation, and Qian Zhugong, Hanlin Academician, emerged.⁵⁸ During the Xining reign era [1068–1077], the court selected many scholars for bureaucratic appointments and increasingly demanded evidence of proper learning, as a result of which even more gentlemen came here [to study]. Shortly afterward, Subeditor Li Yan again partitioned off part of the Southern Garden in order to expand [the school’s] landholdings, but accommodations at the school still weren’t sufficient, and even today it seems cramped. There used to be a shrine dedicated to [Fan] Wenzheng next to the Hall of the [Supreme] Sage, the Laudable [Duke, Confucius], with a subordinate [shrine] dedicated to Master Hu Anding, and over the course of the years, those who sacrificed to Confucius would also burn incense and bow to them. There are ten sights at the school: the tree peonies, the one-hundred-branch Chinese Box, the shrine’s pagoda tree, the three pines, the pair of paulownias, the photinias, the “Dragon’s Head” cypress tree, the swamp cypress, the half-moon pond, and the Marvelous Rock. Some people say that Su [Shunqin] once supervised study here and gave these sights [poetic] names.⁵⁹

The Official Residence (A)

The Record of Commanderies and Counties [Junguo zhi] says: What is now the official residence of the prefect was formerly the palace of the viceroy, the son of Lord Chunshen. Because it was burned repeatedly, they decided to paint it with orpiment, and thus it is known as the Yellow Hall.⁶⁰ There is also a story that the Wu royal palace was still extant in the time of the Qin dynasty but that the official in charge of looking after the palace was looking at the swallows' nests by the light of a torch and managed to set fire to the place. Even though no trace now remains, it is said that the location has never changed. In the Han dynasty, the prefect of Kuaiji governed [the commandery] from Wu. When Zhu Maichen brought his former wife back to the prefect's mansion and let her live in the garden and gave her food to eat, that was here. The present commandery offices were all built after the Tang and Five Dynasties period. In the past, Wei of Suzhou wrote a poem that runs:

The storm arrives above the sea;
Wandering at leisure, the poolside pavilion is desolate.⁶¹

Bai [Juyi] held banquets at the Western Gazebo and watched the nighttime view from Gathering Clouds Gazebo; both are mentioned in his poems.⁶² The so-called Poolside Belvedere probably refers to what is now the Rear Pond. The Western Gazebo is probably what is now called "Viewing the Winds Gazebo." Gathering Clouds Gazebo is probably what is now called the "Flying Clouds Belvedere." Bai [Juyi] wrote a poem that runs:

I wish to say farewell before I leave this southern country;
Again and again I climb the northern wall to see [the view].⁶³

The name Magnolia Hall is also ancient; Pi [Rixiu] and Lu [Guimeng] [d. c. 881] wrote a poem together that mentions the "Rear Pond at Magnolia Hall," which is a reference to this place.⁶⁴ In the middle of the pond there is an ancient juniper tree, which, though very gnarled and twisted, survives to the present day; elders say that this was planted by Bai [Juyi] with his own hands, so it is already more than two hundred years old. Having made inquiries among learned gentlemen, I was told: "Zhang Taichu of the Ministry of Justice constructed the Shanyin Hall."⁶⁵ Jiang [Tang], the auxiliary academician, built the Alternative Pavilion beside the Rear Pond, as well as

the Looking Out over the Wilds Pavilion and Mountain Viewing Belvedere. Chamberlain for Attendants Lü established the Grasping One's Weapon Hall. Hanlin Academician Cai Zizhi added the Archery Hall. Subeditor Pei Ruhui ordered the Flying Clouds Belvedere.⁶⁶ Han Ziwen of the Tax Bureau set up two strangely shaped rocks behind Beneficence Hall, with the inscription 'Separate Abode.'⁶⁷ Recently, Grand Master Yan Chushan repaired an ancient pavilion in the northwestern corner of the city walls, which is called 'Moon Tower'; this makes it much easier to climb up and enjoy the view." I have not yet been able to gather sufficient information about the rest.

The Official Residence (B)

[The Palaces] of the Feudal Lords in antiquity had three gates: the outer was called the "Tall Gate" [Gaomen], the middle one was called the "Main Gate" [Yingmen], and the inner one was called the "Inner Gate" [Lumen].⁶⁸ Beyond each gate was a courtyard, and behind each courtyard were the three principal apartments, the first of which is called the "Main Apartment" and the second of which is known as the Resting Apartment.⁶⁹ After the feudal lords were dismissed and this place given over to a prefect, these names were forgotten and the ornamentation [of what had formerly been the royal palace] gradually reduced, but the essential parts were preserved. The Citadel Gate [Zichengmen] was known in antiquity as the Tall Gate. What is today called "Spear Gate" [Jimen] was in the past known as the Main Gate. What is today called "Beneficence Hall Gate" [Biantingmen] was in the past known as the Inner Gate. Today's Great Courtyard was in the past the Outer Courtyard. Today's Residential Hall was in the past the Resting Apartment. Su[zhou] is a major district in the southeast and a crucial territory; thus it is entirely appropriate that yamen offices should have such nomenclature. In the first year of the Qianning reign era of the Tang dynasty [894], the censor Cheng Ji constructed the main hall, and it lasted through the Five Dynasties, right up to the Jiayou reign era of our present dynasty [1056–1063], but as time went by, the buildings became more and more run down. Wang Junyu of the Secretariat then rebuilt this hall, selecting the materials and overseeing the work, so that in both size and magnificence it was the finest in any commandery. Chen Tianchang of the Bureau of Sacrifices rebuilt the gate to the citadel, creating a most impressive structure; however, the buildings in front of the main hall and behind Ji Gate were left in a state of indescribable ruin. Although the two storerooms [known as the] Arms and Armour

[Repository] and the Official Records Repository survived, they were so low-lying that they were regularly flooded, in the heat of summer they were roasted, and so the weapons and documents either crumbled or rotted to the point that they could no longer be used. When visitors from Koryō came to pay court, they passed through this commandery, and the commandery was required to entertain them, but [the Koryō ambassadors'] entourage all had to stay here. Since it had not been repaired, there was no way to prevent word of this terrible state of affairs from being spread far and wide.

In the Sixth Year of the Yuanfeng Reign Era [1083], Lord Zhang, Prefect and Grand Master for Court Discussion, having persuaded the fiscal commissioner on the subject, obtained two million cash in surplus revenue and then, with the assistance of the envoy from the capital, used [this money] to repair these buildings, which were then given a second story, with two towers opposite each other. Both of the towers had eight supporting pillars made of the finest-quality wood, and the bricks and mortar were similarly good. The officials in charge of this project did not permit any peculations, the workers were all chosen for their skill, and thus expenses were kept to a minimum and the work proceeded quickly. In the spring of the following year, it was completed. At the same time, they restored Spear Gate, making it 3 *chi* taller than the old one. Thus from Tower Gate [Taimen] to the yamen offices, the buildings succeeded one another lofty and splendid, neither too simple nor too extravagant, in a way that simply could not be bettered.

The Southern Garden

The Southern Garden began its rise from the time that [Qian] Yuanliao, the king of Guangling, took military control of Wu, because he really loved planting gardens. At this time, he diverted streams to form lakes and piled up earth to create mountains, sometimes standing individually, sometimes as part of a chain of peaks, all done with the utmost skill and care. He then sought out unusual varieties of trees and all sorts of famous objets d'art, and as these accumulated over the years, they all came to form part of a magnificent vista. Pavilions, kiosks, towers, and gazebos were constructed with a view to enhancing the scenic attractions of the spot. The names of some three belvederes, eight pavilions, and two towers are recorded in the *Illustrated Guide [to Wu Commandery]*, such as Turtle's Head and Coiled Snail, which are ancient structures. When the Qian family was expelled from this country, this garden was not destroyed. A poem by Wang [Yucheng] [954–1001, *jinshi* 983] reads:

In the future, if I succeed in accomplishing great deeds,
I will beg for the Southern Garden as my pleasure dome.⁷⁰

That really is an extreme example of hedonism. Some people say that when they were building the Jingling Palace during the [Dazhong] xiangfu reign era [1008–1016], they were buying and acquiring precious rocks, and some that were presented as tribute from this commandery to the capital were taken from this site.⁷¹ The buildings and gazebos here crumbled and collapsed with age, though Lü Jishu did build the Magnificent Hall, and later civil and military officials have added their own repairs and embellishments. Today the surviving pavilions [are named] Floating Cup, Four Vistas, Myriad Flowers, Great Enjoyment, Summoning the Clouds, and Lovely Landscape, and every spring ladies and gentlemen travel here to have a look and enjoy themselves.

State Granaries

The Southern Granary is located west of the citadel. The Northern Granary is located beside the Heavenly Gate. Both have waterways in front and behind them. Every year, tax revenues are transported south and grain for sale is taken north. For example, in the third year of the Yongfeng reign era [1080], there must have been at least 300,000 *dou* of grain for sale [grown in the Suzhou region], from which you can extrapolate a figure for the entire southeast; the peasantry rely on the official price of grain to set the value of their crops, and they make a massive profit on this. The work of collecting tax revenue would originally take place in front of the courier station, but Fan Wenzheng moved it to the western moat, so that private and public boats could come and go, transporting the grain without needing to make an inconvenient road journey as well; to the present day this continues to be regarded as the most convenient option. The Office for Alcohol Revenue was in a terrible state, so the former acting remonstrator, Lord Sun, petitioned the court to set aside forty thousand strings of cash to rebuild it. Lord Yan and Lord Zhang continued to hurry this project to completion, and recently the work was indeed finished. They also ordered a major restoration for the Southern Granary, making it larger and more secure, in order to protect the profits of these stores.

Pavilions and Official Guesthouses

The Illustrated Guide [to Wu Commandery] records four pavilions overlooking the water. Now many more have been built above the waterways and canals, such as Inspection [Pavilion], Black Robes, River Ford, Brilliant Flowers, Starry Envoy, Waiting for Spring, Great Virtue, Battle Standard, and so on, which are spread out along the riverbanks.⁷² The one called “Great Virtue” stands close to the residence of Master Fu, the director of the palace library. The one called “Battle Standard” stands close to the residence of Master Jiang, the area general of the Board of Military Affairs. A former commandery general named this pavilion in honor of the venerable Bao. In recent years, people from Koryŏ have come to present tribute, and the court thought that treating them well would serve to pacify this distant region, so they opened two pavilions inside the city walls called “Cherishing Guests from Afar” and “Peaceful Journey,” and in addition to that, a great guesthouse has been built outside both the Coiled and Heavenly [Gates], in order to have a place to hold banquets in honor of important guests.⁷³

Communication with the Sea

Wu Commandery reaches to the sea to the east and to the Yangzi River to the north, and it has two routes of communication with the sea: Green Dragon [Qinglong] and Blessings Mountains [Fushan]. Han Wudi sent Yan Zhu to take an army out of Kuaiji [Commandery] and sail across the sea to rescue the Dongou kingdom.⁷⁴ Later, Zhu Maichen said: “The king of the Eastern Yue lives on Mount Quan. Now if the army sets out to sail across the sea and goes straight to Mount Quan, and the boats spread out into battle formation with the soldiers lined up, they can advance southward, conquering everything in their way, and destroy [the Eastern Yue].” The emperor then appointed [Zhu] Maichen as the prefect of Kuaiji. He sent Maichen to that commandery, where he repaired the towered warships and prepared food, water, and weapons for naval warfare.⁷⁵ After about a year, Maichen received the order to take command of his troops; then he attacked and destroyed the Eastern Yue in concert with the Crossing the Seas general Han Shuo and others.⁷⁶ During the Jin dynasty, Yuan Shansong and Yu Tan built fortifications at Hu Canal to defend against pirates.⁷⁷ Since the establishment of the present dynasty, which unified all within the seas, the merchants of Min [Fujian] and Ao [Guangzhou] have taken advantage of the trade winds to

sail out to sea without any sense of danger, and thus rare objects and things from distant lands have accumulated in the markets of Wu. Today the whole coastline has officials on patrol, in order to prevent piracy and smuggling.

Officialdom

During the Han Dynasty, the prefect of Kuaiji governed Wu. When Zhu Maichen met [Han] Wudi, he set a precedent, and an entire generation admired his glorious reputation. In the time of [Han] Guangwu there was a certain Ren Yan [d. c. 67] who was appointed Escort Official. Yan had the style name Changsun, and when at the age of nineteen he was appointed Defender of Kuaiji, the officials who came to welcome him were amazed at his strong and healthy appearance. When he arrived, he did nothing but issue gifts of food and took part in the proper ceremonies; he also performed a sacrifice for Master Ji of Yanling. He paid formal visits and invited senior officials such as Dong Ziyi and Yan Ziling, and he treated them with the ceremony appropriate to friends from whom one can seek valuable advice. [When he discovered] that some of the officials under his command were poor, he immediately divided his salary among them. He cut down on the number of soldiers and ordered the cultivation of publicly owned fields, in order to be able to relieve poverty and aid people in desperate need. When he traveled through the county, he would send out people to find filial sons and would hold a banquet for them. There was a certain Longqiu Chang who lived as a recluse in Taimo, and who was proud of never having submitted to any humiliation. The officials wanted to summon him, but Yan said: "Master Longqiu is a very virtuous and honorable man; he has the honesty of Yuan Xian or Bo Yi. If I were to go in person to sweep his gates, I am afraid that he would still view that as a humiliation, so you certainly cannot summon him." He then sent [the head of the] Labor Section to pay a formal visit and put the records [of the commandery] in good order, distributing medicine [among the needy], keeping an eye on things on the street. After a year, [Longqiu] Chang came in person to the yamen and announced that he was willing to take office, and then he was appointed chancellor of the Consultation Section. After this, all the wise knights and grandees in the commandery vied to serve under him.⁷⁸

From the Jin to the Tang Dynasty, the best officials have already been recorded in the *Illustrated Guide [to Wu Commandery]*. From the *New History of the Tang Dynasty* I have gathered a number of additional stories. [For

example,] this history records that when Wang Zhongshu was prefect here, “[he] put a dike along the Song River, which acted as a road, he [made the inhabitants] change [their thatched roofs] to tile ones to prevent the outbreak of fires, he always collected taxes from the people on a set date, and he did not trouble other people if it was something that he could do himself.”⁷⁹ When Yu Di [d. 818] was prefect, “[he] prevented heterodox sacrifices, dredged the canals, repaired the roads, and was meritorious in office.”⁸⁰ When Yang Fa was prefect, his “governance gave priority to respecting the aged and caring for the young.”⁸¹ These are all people who are worthy of being recorded. As for Wei Yingwu [737–791], Bai Juyi, and Liu Yuxi, they can also be called benevolent officials, and yet the world knows them only as poets. Wei [Yingwu] was honored by the people of the Tang dynasty for his honesty and virtue, so that everyone in the world called him “Wei of Suzhou.” In the Zhengyuan reign era, when the commandery was first established, the people relied on him for their sense of security. He also had many Confucian scholars among his clients and brought recluses into his service, such as Gu Kuang [727?–806?], Liu Changjing, Qiu Dan, Qin Xi, and Jiao Ran, and they in turn recommended others, and he would exchange poems [with his clients].⁸² He really was a remarkably intelligent man! [Bai Juyi] acted in an honorable fashion and was appreciative of the talents of others, so though he did not care greatly for official documents, he nevertheless worked very hard at them. He held banquets only on days of rest, as can be seen from his poems. At one point he decided to construct a road out to Tiger Hill, which would prevent people from having to wade through the waters and might also stop flooding. Not long afterward, he requested permission to resign his post; [Liu Yuxi] then wrote a poem for him, which reads:

In one hundred thousand households in Suzhou,
You can hear people crying like babies.⁸³

This is a fact. When [Liu Yuxi] was [the prefect of Su]zhou, after a terrible epidemic, he made sure that the people did not abandon [the city]. The court was impressed by his brilliant governance and bestowed upon him the honors of a third-level official. These three men are still well spoken of today.

When Wusu of the Qian Family Founded the Wuyue Dynasty, he appointed his son Yuanliao as censor. This was immediately after [the city] had been ravaged by military action and fire, and [Qian] Yuanliao then governed it for thirty years peacefully and frugally. It was thanks to [Qian]

Yuanliao's efforts that the Li family of Jiangnan kept within its borders and that [the territory of the Wuyue] was completely protected.⁸⁴ Yuanliao was later enfeoffed as Commandery King of Guangling, and his son [Qian] Wenfeng inherited his title.⁸⁵ He too was fond of recruiting able men into his service and was an exceptionally well-educated and refined gentleman, who in the end died in office. Later, [during the reign of] King Zhongyi, [the Northern Song dynasty] took these lands, and he then requested permission to become a vassal; the court then dismissed the original Wuyue prefect from office in order to let him govern this territory. From the third year of the Taiping xingguo reign era [978] to the present day, the fourth year of the Yuanfeng reign era [1081], there have been seventy-two officials [in charge of this region]. Their names are all listed in the *Comprehensive Anthology*.⁸⁶ Because of the difficulties attendant on governing this commandery, the court always deliberates carefully on the choice [of a suitable official] and will not lightly make an appointment that does not involve a clever man from a good background and an official with an illustrious track record. The customs [of this place] are very cultured and refined, and there are many enlightened and brilliant, successful and outstanding, noble and powerful men whose biographies are given in dynastic histories and handed down as family traditions. Gentlemen living in reclusion reside alone and are rarely heard from. Even if you do hear about them, you do not get the details, so how can they be enumerated?

During This Present Dynasty, Lord Zhang, Grand Master for Discussion, was at one time in command of grain transport through the Zhejiang Circuit, and he built an awe-inspiring reputation. Wherever he went, he would carefully govern both the masses and his officials, and even small matters would always be thoroughly investigated. When he first arrived, there had been a violent storm, and some people in the vicinity of the lakes or the sea had been washed away and drowned. Master [Zhang] sent his officials on a tour of inspection to give credit and alms, and he requested permission [from the court] to remit agricultural taxes, and thus no one lost his livelihood. He removed or disciplined wicked officials, he caught and controlled beggars and other undesirables, he put a stop to [the depredations] of great families. Everyone held him in the greatest respect and awe, and his reputation for good government spread far and wide. He received an edict that said: "Officials are moved countless times, for that is how one can test their abilities. Su[zhou] is a large and important commandery. Since you became prefect there, you have won a reputation as a capable [official],

and the good order [to be found in this region] is thanks to your hard work, which means that there has now long been peace here. In the past, you were the only person to have carried out your official duties to the utmost without any negligence, which has given me the idea of keeping you in office. Thus it is appropriate to appoint you for a second term as the prefect of Su[zhou].”⁸⁷ Since the establishment of our present dynasty, only Master [Zhang] has served two terms of office, and the local people were delighted with this. At that time, there was discussion about a major restoration of the city walls and a deepening of the Grand Canal, but he begrudged the use of the people’s strength in public service, and so he requested that they be exempted from corvée labor. The local people thought him very virtuous.

Famous People

Wu has produced many famous people. Yan Zhu [d. 122 BCE] and Zhu Maichen of the Han dynasty both came from Wu in Kuaiji Commandery, and thanks to their Confucian scholarship, they are still spoken of today. There have been more than one hundred individuals from this commandery recommended to the court as worthy and excellent. [Han] Wudi deeply appreciated [Yan] Zhu’s advice and therefore selected him for the honor of becoming Grand Master of the Palace. He also favored Zhu Maichen and also promoted him to the position of Grand Master of the Palace, whereby one was placed to the right and the other to the left. When he discussed matters of state with his senior ministers, all parties responded to one another with righteous and highly principled words. Later, he was appointed prefect of Kuaiji. When [Yan] Zhu was [prefect of] Kuaiji for many years, he neglected his job. The Son of Heaven sent him a letter reading: “You, sir, became unhappy with your official quarters here at the palace, and though you worked hard at your job, you missed your native place and so went out to become a commandery official. To the east Kuaiji stretches to the sea, to the south it reaches to the lands of the Yue, to the north it pillows the Yangzi River. Its inhabitants are far away, and for a long time nothing has been heard from them. [I hope that] everything corresponds to the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.” [Yan] Zhu was frightened and sent a letter to the emperor to apologize: “I wish to present [the materials] for my triennial assessment.”⁸⁸ [Zhu] Maichen was then presented with the staff of office of Prefect of Kuaiji and returned home on foot to this commandery. He was escorted by officials from Chang’an riding on chariots drawn by teams of four horses. When

Kuaiji heard the news that the prefect had arrived, people were swept from the streets and the elders and officials of the county all came out to meet him, riding on more than one hundred chariots. These two men both started out as scholars and ended up governing a whole commandery, bringing blessings on one thousand *li*, and their counsels were heeded at court. What a glorious thing! Later, [Yan] Zhu was able [to effect] the imperial decree that [the king of] Nanyue should send his son [Zhao Yingqi] to serve [at the Han court], while [Zhu] Maichen was victorious in his attack on the Eastern Yue that crushed their government.⁸⁹ They deserve to be remembered for either of these achievements.

From the Eastern Han to the Tang Dynasty, [this region] produced scholars and philosophers generation after generation, as has already been recorded in detail in the *Illustrated Guide [to Wu Commandery]*, the Four Lineages [of Wu] being the most prominent. Lu Ji says:

The Eight Clans [of the Three Kingdoms era kingdom of Wu] are none too glorious;

The Four Lineages are indeed famous houses.⁹⁰

The Four Lineages are the Zhu, Zhang, Gu, and Lu. They all lived on the left bank of the Yangzi River and produced many brilliant men in every generation. Some held senior ministerial appointments, some were Confucian scholars, some were renowned for their virtue and sense of justice, some were famous for their literary works; this has already been recorded in ancient gazetteers. When the king of Guangling, [Qian] Yuanliao, and his son governed Central Wu, there were the four gentlemen from the Ding, Chen, Fan, and Xie families who all served as government advisers together; they were known as the Elders. Among the descendants of the Ding family, there is [Ding Wei], Duke of Jin [966–1037, *jinshi* 992], who has served both as a general and as chancellor.⁹¹ Among the descendants of the Fan family, there is [Fan] Wenzheng, who played a major role in the government of the country and acted as preceptor to [Song] Shizong.⁹² [Fan] Wenzheng's nephew Longtu was also an important educator, famous for his upright and honest character, and so he was appointed censor by his majesty the late emperor. Among the descendants of the Xie family, there is Adviser to the Heir Apparent [Xie] Tao. The adviser to the heir apparent has a son named [Xie] Jiang [994–1039, *jinshi* 1015], who held an appointment as Drafter of Proclamations, and who was recommended for office by the local gentry.⁹³ Among the descendants

of the Chen family, there is Companion to the Heir Apparent [Chen] Zhiqi, who became known as “The Gentleman of the Chen family” after he refused the position of instructor to his majesty the Commandery King of Longxi and went home. Even though they summoned him back, he would not go, since he wanted to bring justice to the people of his hometown.⁹⁴ There are other examples [of this kind of behavior], such as Commander in Chief of the Palace Army Zheng [Jian, better known by his posthumous title] Noble and Respected [Wensu], whose strategic planning brought great success to the Bureau of Military Affairs and pacified the borders.⁹⁵ Bureau Director Fu Yan as an old man governed this commandery, his old hometown, with great virtue. Xu Dong [c. 976–c. 1017] became famous for his poetry and songs during the [Dazhong] xiangfu reign era.⁹⁶ These are all men of Wu. It would be impossible to enumerate all the talented gentlemen of the south-east, and the traveling officials from all four corners of the empire who have seen how delightful this region is and eventually settled down here, finally leaving their bones in this soil, and where their sons and grandsons have not left. At the present time many respected officials and famous Confucian scholars come from Wu, and the very best gain access to the Yellow Door [i.e., the emperor] and enter the Forbidden Grove [i.e., the Hanlin Academy]; those at the next level command whole regions of the empire or take office in the Censorate or one of the ministries, eventually becoming old men who retire to their hometowns covered with honors, a shining example to others. These men I have left for later generations to record.

FASCICLE 2

Bridges

Wu Commandery has had many bridges and dams since antiquity, and thus Bai [Juyi] once wrote a poem that mentions: “Vermilion railings [frame] 390 bridges”; their names are also recorded in the *Illustrated Guide [to Wu Commandery]*.⁹⁷ Subsequently many more have been built, all of stone and brick, and of very fine workmanship, so you do not see the red wooden railings anymore. As for their names, there has never been a complete record. When Han Ziwen of the Ministry of Revenue was appointed prefect, he ordered that each bridge should have its name carved [onto stone] beside it, so that as people came and went, they would all be able to see it. The famous ones, with either ancient or modern stories to tell about them, are recorded here.

Lucky Magpie Bridge stands in front of the commandery seat. There is an old story that there used to be eight official guesthouses [in the city]: Quanwu, Flowing Waters, Dragon Gate, Lindun, Shengyu, Lucky Magpie, River Wind, and Yiting. This bridge takes its name from the official guesthouse. Bai [Juyi] mentions it several times in his poetry.⁹⁸

Lost Sandal Bridge stands southwest of Wu County. The kings of Wu had a silk-weaving village [*zhili*] here, and the name of the bridge is derived from this. It is said that the name Lost Sandal [Shilü, rather than Zhili] is a common mistake.

Gao Bridge stands northwest of Wu County. This was the place where Gao Botong, styled Fengjing, lived. Botong was a court gentleman in the Han dynasty, and when he died, he was buried 200 *bu* [314 m] west of Xu Gate, in a place called “Botong’s Mound.” In the past, Liang Hong married Meng Guang, and they traveled together to Wu, where they lived in Botong’s household. They worked as grain huskers. Botong investigated them and thought they were unusual people, and then he gave them a residence in his own house. When Hong died, [Botong] buried him there in a most praiseworthy way. When the “Rhapsody in Mourning for Jiangnan” [Ai Jiangnan fu] says “A lodging by the Gao Bridge,” it is a reference to this.⁹⁹

One Hundred Mouths Bridge is located east of Changzhou County. There is a legend that Gu Xun of the Eastern Han dynasty had five generations living under one roof, in a family of one hundred members, and that their clothes and food were equally allocated, and they all behaved according to their proper place. It is because they lived here that this [bridge] is so named.

Ascending Fish Bridge is the subject of an old legend that this is the spot where Qin Gao rode on the back of a fish and became a transcendent. According to Liu Xiang’s *Biographies of Exemplary Transcendents* [Liexian zhuan]: “Qin Gao was a man of Zhao who once dived into the Zhuo River to catch dragons accompanied by his disciple Qi. Qi said: ‘Let us both fast and purify ourselves and wait beside the shrine.’ Sure enough, a red carp appeared and sat in the middle of the shrine; then after a month it went back into the water.” In some versions it says this happened at the Dang [River] and not the Zhuo. There is no mention of this taking place in Wu. *Biographies of Exemplary Transcendents* does record that someone called Master Ying also rode up into the sky on the back of a red carp and that every household in Wu then made sacred fish and established a shrine to [Master] Ying. I do not know if this is true or not.

The Capital Guesthouse Bridge is located northwest of Wu County. There is an ancient tradition that King Shoumeng of Wu built his capital guesthouse here, so that he might treat wise knights with all due care and respect. Garden Bridge and Dingkua Bridge are both traditionally said [to have been located] inside King Helü's parks; these are places where he enjoyed himself.

Lindun Bridge is located north of Changzhou County. Lindun is the name of one of the official guesthouses in Wu times. Lu [Guimeng] once lived beside it, and Pi Rixiu gave him a poem on the subject that says:

Without even leaving the confines of the city walls,
It is as spacious as the wilderness beyond the suburbs.¹⁰⁰

Nowadays, this bridge is surrounded by serried ranks of people's houses, probably because this commandery flourished so during the Tang dynasty.

Supreme Virtue Bridge is located in front of the shrine to Taibo. The bridge's name is derived from the temple.¹⁰¹

The Venerable Mr. Sun's Bridge spans the Grand Canal. It was built at the beginning of the Tiansheng reign era [1023–1032] by Sun Mian, the commandery governor and administrative official in the Directorate of the Ministry of Rites. When Mr. Sun was governing Suzhou, the people loved and were in awe of him, hence the name.

Spring Journey Bridge is located beside Mount Heng at Yuelai Stream. The lakes and mountains are everywhere that you can see, making this a famous beauty spot.

The New Bridge is located outside the Coiled Gate. If you left the commandery [seat] and headed south, then after passing through a couple of townships, you would arrive at Mu Canal, which communicates with the Grand Canal; you would have had to take a boat in order to cross. [This bridge] stands at the juncture of two streams, and so [the waters here] are both wide and deep, which is why from ancient times no one could build a bridge here. Now the Honorable Zhang, Prefect and Gentleman for Court Discussion, has taken office, and the Shi family requested permission to put up the money to build the bridge, so the Honorable [Zhang] made a plan and kept up inspections, as a result of which work began on time and was finished ahead of schedule, and then the [new bridge] spanned these broad waters, divided into three separate bridges; this has made travel much easier.

The Third Defender in Chief Bridge is located west of Wu County. In the past, each of the sons of the king of Guangling had his own garden, and this bridge gives onto West Alley, which must have been under the control of his third son. Recently there has been a census of local residents.

The Three Bridges of the Wu River. The southern one is called “Pacifying the People” and is located at the Xinjing [River]. The middle one is called “Benefiting the People” and is located at Qilijing. The northern one is called “Helping the People” and is located on the Wujing. Originally there were seventeen villages in Zhengyuan Township along the Cao River, and these families all lived on the south bank, but their fields were located on the north bank. People wanted to cross, but there was no bridge, and so one summer when the days are long, a junior official in the commandery took charge of the matter and built a bridge. Qian Zigao wrote a record of this.

Easy Travel Bridge was built over the Wu River by Wang Tingjian, District Defender, in the eighth year of the Qingli reign era [1048]. It is more than 1,000 *chi* [300 m] from east to west and is made of wood. It is surrounded by carved railings and paved in brick; in front you can look out to Lake Tai as [the bridge] traverses the Song River and [experience] the light shining off the lake and the fresh breezes from the ocean and the waters rippling delightfully. This is one of the most beautiful sights in all of Wu. When the bridge was built, the struts served to prevent [any structural movement] from the wind and waves, so that those travelers who come and go across it in the morning and evening all say that it is like walking on a land road. There is a pavilion attached to this bridge, which is called the “Suspended Rainbow,” and Su [Shunqin] once wrote a poem about it:

A vast bridge made of ancient wood spans this empty space;

A large pavilion of grand appearance dominates the waves.¹⁰²

These are not empty words.

Shrines

Taibo Temple [Taibomiao] is located inside the Heavenly Gate. Originally it was situated outside, where it was built by the prefect Mi Bao during the reign of Emperor Huan of the Han dynasty. The Qian family moved it inside, probably so that it would escape damage in war. Master Ji of Yanling has a subsidiary shrine here.

Mount Bao Temple [Baoshanmiao] is located at Dongting. Tang dynasty people found praying here very efficacious. [Lu Guimeng] wrote a poem:

Finally there have always been stories told;

This place was specially used in the enfeoffment of a feudal lord.¹⁰³

Dragon Mother Temple [Longmumiao] is located at Mount Yang in Wu County. People in this commandery once successfully prayed for rain here and afterward respectfully requested permission [to build this temple].

The Dragon Hall [Longtang] of Changshu County. In the middle of the Xiantong reign era of the Tang dynasty [860–873], because of a drought, the magistrate Zhou Siji performed a *yong* [relief from natural disaster] sacrifice to the dragon above the deep pool on Mount Po. Sure enough, it rained in response, and then they built this hall in order to perform sacrifices to it. The carved record [of this] is still extant. Mount Po is the same as Mount Yu. Elders claim that every year the dragon comes and goes between Mount Yang and Mount Yu, which is revealed by the clouds and rain.

Qingji Temple [Qingjimiao] is located on the edge of Wu County. Qingji was the son of King Liao of Wu, who is mentioned by Dongfang Shuo: “As fleet as Qingji.”¹⁰⁴ I have heard that there is a common mistake made in calling this the Qingfen [Temple], which is wrong.

Dongting Divine Women Temple [Shenggumiao]. The two daughters of Wang Biao of the Jin dynasty died one after the other, but people believed that they were numinous and performed sacrifices to them.

Academician Sun Shrine [Sun Xueshi Citang] is part of Longevity Temple [Wanshou]. In the Tiansheng reign era [of the Northern Song dynasty (1023–1030)], Sun Mian was in charge of this commandery, and he regulated the prison without abuse, he gave judgments like a god, he determined whether questioning would be relaxed or close, and everyone told him the truth. Both his officials and the ordinary people respected and feared him. When he once became sick with abscesses, people fought with one another to visit the Buddhist temples to pray for his recovery. Later, they established this shrine for him. To the present day he is spoken of respectfully by the people of Wu.

Daoist Monasteries

Heavenly Blessings Monastery [Tianqingguan] was founded during the Tang dynasty as the Kaiyuan Temple. In the Sun Ru rebellion, this whole

area went up in flames, and only the three gates and the main hall survived. Later, it was restored and in the [Dazhong] xiangfu reign era was renamed Heavenly Blessings Monastery. During the Huangyou reign era [1049–1053], the three gates were repaired, and they now look very imposing.

Great Harmony Temple [Taihegong] is located outside the Coiled Gate. This land formed the country retreat of the Tang prime minister Bi Jian.¹⁰⁵ Jian's son [Bi] Shiyan and his son Zongyi moved their main residence here in order to avoid the violence caused by a den of bandits. There was a certain Dai Shengzhen who had been orphaned at a young age and who followed his mother when she married into the Bi family; [Bi] Zongyi had no sons, so he appointed [Dai] Shengzhen as his heir. Later, Shengzhen entered the Dao and lived at Kaiyuan Temple. In the second year of the Kaibao reign era [969], he asked permission to turn his secular home into a monastery, and the Qian family donated an inscription reading: "Great Harmony." Then [Dai Shengzhen] and his disciple Wu Xuanzhi presided over the reconstruction. Wang [Yucheng] compiled a record of this matter, and he also composed a poem on the subject.¹⁰⁶

Divine Protection Monastery [Lingyouguan] is located on Mount Dongting. In the Tang dynasty, this was the Numinous Light Temple [Shenjinggong] and was probably founded in the time of Emperor Ming. Within its precincts is the Linwu Cave, the ninth of the great Grotto-Heavens in the human realm. This is the abode of spirits and the dwelling place of the Empress of Heaven and Daoist transcendents. *Declarations of the Perfected* [Zhengao] [by Tao Hongjing (456–536)] says: "The Gouqu Grotto-Heaven reaches to Linwu in the east, to Daizong [Mount Tai] in the north, to [Mount] Emei in the west, and to [Mount] Luofu in the south."¹⁰⁷ That means that all of these caves communicate with one another. There is an ancient tradition that when Yu controlled the waters, he passed by Kuaiji and dreamed of a man wearing dark clothes who told him that the methods for controlling the waters and obtaining immortality were located in a stone box on this mountain. [Yu] then found it, and [later] he hid it in a stone cave on Mount Bao. The people of Wu obtained it but could not understand it, so they asked Confucius about it, and Confucius said: "This is the text from Yu's stone box." This is the same as the three fascicles of the *Classic of Numinous Treasure* [Lingbao jing]. In the time of the kings of Wu, they sent someone to go for more than 20 *li* into the cave, and he heard the sound of waves above him, and there were enormous bats that attacked him viciously. If you read the poems of Pi [Rixiu] and Lu [Guimeng], this is entirely believable. White

numinous fungus and purple waters are also to be found here, and these are the food and drink of immortals and transcendents, so perhaps they really do come and go here. In the time of the Tang dynasty, a dragon jumped here, and thus the monastery was constructed [at this site]. In the fifth year of the Tianxi reign era [1021], [the emperor Song Zhenzong] commanded a major restoration and bestowed the new name Divine Protection [upon it], and the text of the imperial order was carved on stone.

Dongzhen Temple [Dongzhengong] is described in the *Illustrated Guide* as follows: “It stands on top of the ancient Duke of Mao’s Platform.” According to the poems of Pi [Rixiu] and Lu [Guimeng], the duke of Mao was Liu Gen. Lu [Guimeng’s] poem reads:

In antiquity, there was Han Zhongdao,
Who instructed Master Liu.
His body was like a jade phoenix,
His wings gently spread.¹⁰⁸

According to the *Biographies of Divine Transcendents* [Shenxian zhuan], Liu Gen, styled Jun’an, lived in the time of Han Chengdi. He was recommended to the court as filially pious and incorrupt and was appointed Gentleman of the Interior. Later, he abandoned the world to study Daoism and entered a cave on Mount Song halfway up a 50-*zhang* [157 m] sheer cliff. In winter, as in summer, he wore no clothes, and the hair on his body grew to 1 or 2 *chi* [60 cm] in length, and he had the appearance of a man in his fifties. When he was sitting with other people, suddenly he would appear wearing an official’s high hat and dark clothes, and no one was aware of the transformation. [Liu] Gen himself said that after entering the mountains [as a recluse], he refined his thoughts, as a result of which he could go anywhere, and thus he once came here.¹⁰⁹ He piled up stones to form a platform that was less than a *mu* across. There is an ancient tradition that Lord Mao traveled as far as [Mount] Luofu [in Guangdong], that he lived on that mountain until he was more than three hundred years old, and that he had seventy-two disciples. Becoming transformed into an immortal is a mysterious process, and [such individuals] can leap 10,000 *li* in a single bound, so how can they be measured by ordinary standards? There was a certain Master Zhou who was a recluse, his style name was Xiyuan, and in the middle of the Zhengyuan reign era of the Tang dynasty, he happened to be traveling past the Numinous Light Monastery [Shenjingguan] on Mount Bao when, looking some 5 *li* into the distance,

he saw a white deer kneeling down beside Lord Mao's Fortress. He found a strange stone there that had tadpole-script writing on top of it, which was the founding talisman for Lord Mao's fortifications. There is a well whose waters are pure and sweet; this is the Refining Cinnabar Well. Beside it there is an ancient pool, many *zhang* deep and wide, that never dries up even in years of drought, which is Lord Mao's Pool. This monastery was built in the third year of the Kaicheng reign era [838], probably because of Master [Liu].

Supreme Truth Temple [Shangzhenguan] is located on Mount Dongting and was built during the Liang dynasty. The Tang dynasty monk Jiaoran once accompanied Zheng Shijun of Huzhou on a climb to this spot, and then they looked out at the waters of the lake and composed poetry.¹¹⁰ Pi and Lu also composed works about this site. One of these poems reads:

Once upon a time Daoist Master Ye
Was promoted to become an immortal official.
He wanted to make clear his ambitions to the Purple Palace;
Thus he ate only the cinnabar from rainbows.¹¹¹

I do not know the name of this Master Ye.

Heavenly Virtue Monastery [Tianyuanguan] is located below Mount Yu, 1 *li* [0.56 km] from Changshu [County]. In the fifth year of the Tianjian reign era [506], Master Zhang Yu came to this mountain and lived there as a recluse for more than ten years because he had a dream in which a spirit told him: "The land below the peak may appear remote and lonely, but you could perform a divination about living there."¹¹² As instructed, [Zhang] Yu built a thatched cottage, which he named Summoning Purity, and Crown Prince Zhaoming wrote a stele inscription for it.¹¹³ Emperor Jianwen [of the Liang dynasty] once gave [this monastery] a jade armrest, a bell, one hundred *jin* of incense, and one hundred lamps, which were set out for display here. Later, the name was changed to Heavenly Virtue [Monastery].

Taiyi Temple [Taiyigong] used to be located at the commandery seat; some traditions say it stood beside the Requiring Kindness Temple [Baoensi]. In the Taiping xingguo reign era [976–983], the mystic Chu Zhilan said: "Taiyi [combines] the Five Blessings and is a respected deity in heaven. In a place where Taiyi is present, people will be rich and happy, and they will not suffer harm from soldiers. [Taiyi, the Pole Star,] moves through the Five Palace [asterisms], and every forty-five years it moves one place, so if you calculate its position, at present it is located in the region of the sky that corre-

sponds to Wu and Yue. I therefore ask permission to build a temple in these lands in which to perform sacrifices to [Taiyi].” His request was granted. In the tenth month of the sixth year [981], Suzhou was talking about the completion of Taiyi Temple, and [Chu] Zhilan again said: “Southeast of the citadel is an area called ‘Su Hamlet.’ You could move the temple there, for if [you place it] in order to correspond to the name [Gu]su Tower, then blessings will rain down on the imperial capital.” [Song] Taizong agreed to this. Then they built Taiyi Temple to the south of the citadel, and Gusu Temple was then abandoned.¹¹⁴

Temples

After Buddhism Arrived in China, it gradually spread to the southeast, and in the middle of the Chiuwei reign era of the Wu dynasty [238–250], there were already Buddhist temples established in Wu. Afterward, Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty was devoted to the service of the Buddha, and each of the famous peaks and scenic spots of Wu had its own Buddhist establishments. This was also true during the Chen and Sui dynasties and reached a peak during the Tang. One morning Tang Wuzong destroyed them all, but after that, Xuanzong gradually restored them. At the end of the Tang dynasty, bandits rose up, and inside the gates of Wu many temples were pillaged and burned. When the Qian family took control of Wu, they worshipped [the Buddha] very devoutly. Thus they restored old [Buddhist foundations] and designed new ones, building one hundred structures and expending every effort to see [that these projects were completed] as quickly as possible, their only fear being that they might not succeed in carrying them out. Inside and outside [Wu] Commandery magnificent temples and pagodas stand within sight of each other, and thus their influence has permeated local customs, and [Buddhism in this region] has not declined even after all this time. People here all joyfully give up their property in order to transfer it to monks for ornamenting temple rooms and extending their buildings; they eat only vegetarian food served on purified dishes. No other place in China can equal this. In all, there were 139 temples [here], and their names have already been recorded in the *Illustrated Guide*. Now there are even more, and having investigated what is recorded about their history that was not included in the *Illustrated Guide*, I have made mention of it here. When it comes to lakeside or mountain [temples], and those located in the remoter outskirts and the wilds, there are some that I do not know about, so there are probably gaps.

In some cases, the names of temples can be seen in the records, but now no one knows where they were located. For example, during the Jin dynasty, He Dian and his brother lived at the Great Wisdom Temple [Borutosi] in Wu. There is also a tradition that in the Tang dynasty there was a Qianyuan Temple, which had previously been the residence of Dai Kui [326–396]. Likewise, the Buddhist Meditation Temple [Yanzuosi] was previously the home of Zhang Rong. In addition, there are the Bodhi Tree [Longhua], Chan Chamber [Chanfang], Benevolence [Tangci], Accumulating Good Karma [Chongfu], Kindness [Cibei], and Lu Xiangshu Temples, all of which were built during the Six Dynasties period. The calligraphic inscriptions at the Bodhi Tree and Buddhist Meditation Temples were produced by Lu Jianzhi, but now no one knows what they look like.

Heavenly Influences Temple [Chengtiansi] is located 2 *li* [1.1 km] northwest of Changzhou County. There is an ancient tradition that this was the former residence of Lu Sengzan during the Liang dynasty, and because he saw auspicious clouds mass to cover it, he asked permission to give his house to the Buddhist Church, and it became Massed Clouds Temple. By mistake, this was written Massed Primordial Essence, and then that was its name. Wei of Suzhou in his poem “On Climbing to a Belvedere in the Temple” [Deng sigē shi] writes:

At leisure I wend my way toward the cloudy buildings;
On a clear dawn the vista is bathed in pure light.
For the first time I see the vastness of the Wu capital,
Stretching out majestically for 10 *li*.
The mountains and rivers present a beautiful scene,
As lake and sea swallow up the horizon.¹¹⁵

That refers to this temple. In the time of the Qian family, it was repaired so that the halls and belvederes were magnificent, and stones of unusual shape were placed in front [of each building]. In the temple there are five separate halls: Perpetual Peace and Pure Land are establishments for meditation, while Precious Sutra, Nagā-puspa, and Mystic Enlightenment are teaching halls.¹¹⁶ The so-called Precious Sutra Hall used to be the Medicine Buddha Hall. In the past, there was a monk from Qiantang named Daozan, who wrote one hundred sutras on red sandalwood incense and then placed them inside the temple. Hanlin Academician and Recipient of Edicts Master Chao and twenty-three other senior ministers of the day wrote a record about this.

There is also the Transcendent Lady Temple, which seems to be dedicated to a daughter of the Lu family from the time of the Liang dynasty; the people of Wu go here to pray for sons, for which it has some efficacy.

Perpetual Peace Chan Buddhist Hall [Yongan Chanyuan] is located within the purlieu of Heavenly Influences Temple, and its original name was Amitabha Hall. Before this, the court of [Song] Taizong was interested in ensuring the printing and preservation of Buddhist scriptures; thus a Chan master from Yuhang named [Shi] Daoyuan went to the capital to borrow the blocks for printing [the Buddhist canon]. In the middle of the Jingde reign era [1004–1007], he was given four scrolls in the calligraphy of Emperor Taizong and an additional fourteen scrolls of newly translated scripture, and therefore when he came back home, Daoyuan stored them in this hall. In the eighth year of the Dazhong xiangfu reign era [1015], he presented the *Jingde Record of the Transmission of the Lamp* [Jingde chuandeng lu] to the court and was granted the inscription that still graces the temple.¹¹⁷ Every year a monk is ordained here. This has remained a Chan Buddhist institution up until the present day.

Requiting Kindness Temple is located 1.5 *li* [0.8 km] northwest of Changzhou County. In antiquity this was Communicating with the Primordial Essence Temple, and in the Chiuwei reign era of the Wu dynasty [238–250], Lady Wu, the mother of our former ruler [Sun Quan], gave her home to the Buddhist Church to allow its construction. In the second year of the Jianxing reign era of the Jin dynasty [314], the fishermen at Hu Canal saw a supernatural light illuminating the waters and piercing the heavens. The morning that they saw this, two stone statues came floating along on the waters. Some of them said: “These are water spirits.” Therefore they performed a sacrifice of three animals to welcome this supernatural blessing, and the statues went floating on. At that time the people of Wu were led by monks and nuns to welcome [these statues] at the seaside, and when they all entered the city walls, [the statues] were placed at Communicating with the Primordial Essence Temple, where they shone for seven days and seven nights without ceasing. Thus [the people] named the hall [where the statues were located] Two Buddhas [Hall]. In the eighth year of the Jianxing reign era [320], fishermen found a Buddhist alms bowl of lapis lazuli on a sandbank at the Hu Canal, and to begin with, they thought that it was an ordinary bowl, so they used it for meat. Suddenly an image of the Buddha could be seen on the outside. The fishermen thought that this was strange, and then they realized that it was some lingering blessing from the two statues, so they used it to worship the Buddha. The Jianwen emperor of the

Liang dynasty wrote the “Stele Inscription on the Stone Buddhas,” which says that one is the Kāśyapa Buddha and the other is the Vipāśyin Buddha and that Sanskrit words are carved on the backs of these images. Empress [Wu Ze]tian of the Tang dynasty sent an envoy to present a coral mirror and an alms bowl, which were placed in front of the statues. There is also a stele in the calligraphy of Lu Jianzhi. In the middle of the Kaiyuan reign era [713–741], an order was issued to establish Kaiyuan temples throughout the empire, and thus it changed its name to Kaiyuan and was granted an inscription in golden calligraphy. Within the temple precincts there is a gilt bronze image of the emperor Xuanzong. At that time, since the empire was at peace, the rich merchant Jia Yuan gave his wealth away [to the Buddhist Church], sometimes as much as several thousand strings of cash a day. It got to the point that the space between each set of pillars was hung with pearls and hammer-wrought pearls and ornamented with gold and jade, and every corner [of this temple] was stuffed with treasures. They glittered and shone like the constellations in the sky. In the second year of the Dashun reign era [891], [this temple] was burned by the bandit from Huaixi, Sun Ru, and its site then became a wasteland. In the third year of the Tongguang reign era [925], the Qian family rebuilt this temple 3.5 *li* [2 km] southwest of Wu County and set up a board saying “Kaiyuan” and moved all the monks there. That is the modern Kaiyuan Temple. The modern Kaiyuan Temple has an Auspicious Images Belvedere; though it now has different sculptures in it, the lapis lazuli alms bowl is still preserved there. In the Xiande reign era of the Zhou dynasty [954–960], the Qian family built a [new] temple on the foundations of the original Kaiyuan Temple, and they transferred the name of the Tang dynasty Requiring Kindness Temple to this place, and again that is the modern temple. The Tang dynasty Requiring Kindness Temple was located at Mount Baoen in Wu County, which is also known as Mount Zhixing. This foundation was built by Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty, only to be destroyed under Emperor Wuzong of the Tang dynasty, and then in the end, they moved the name to this place. This temple has a pagoda and not long ago suffered a terrible fire, but the people of the commandery have rebuilt the Great Hall to make it as beautiful as possible, and it really is the finest in the whole of the southeast. They have only just recently finished work. There are three separate halls [attached to this temple]; those called “Sengka” and “Water and Land” are meditation establishments, while that called “Illumination of Doctrine” is a teaching institution.

Buddha’s Gate Chan Buddhist Hall [Pumen Chanyuan] is located

beside Requiring Kindness Temple. During the Jingde reign era, a Japanese monk named Jizhao, with the title Grand Master Yuantong, came to present tribute to the capital, and he was summoned by the emperor, who presented him with purple robes and a bundle of five lengths of silk.¹¹⁸ Jizhao wanted to travel to the Tiantai Mountains, so [the emperor] ordered that the magistrates along the route should continue to look after him. Ding [Wei], who was at that time acting as the state finance commissioner, told him about the unusual refinement of the Gusu landscape, and so Jizhao wanted to stay at Wu, and so he lodged in this hall. The senior ministers at court all composed poems when they came to see him off, and these are inscribed on a stone that stands in this hall.¹¹⁹

Heavenly Influences Longevity Chan Buddhist Hall [Chengtian Wanshou Chanyuan] is located southeast of Changzhou County. In the time of the Qian family, Ding Shoujie—an ancestor of [Ding Wei]—held a minor official position in Wu, and he cleared the weeds and built a new building on top of the old foundations of the Tang dynasty Longevity Temple, located in the southeastern corner of his residence. In the middle of the Xiangfu reign era, [Ding Wei] asked to be given the present name inscription. At the beginning of the Tiansheng reign era, it reopened as a Chan Buddhist foundation, and with the support of the senior monks, it continued to flourish, becoming the greatest [in the region]. There is also an Avatamsaka Belvedere. In the middle of the Xiangfu reign era, there was a Buddhist who fled to Shu from the capital, who carved images of the sixteen Arhats and then came to Qiantang to ornament them. He was going to go back to the capital, but upon his arrival in Su[zhou], he was so impressed with the place that he then stayed at this belvedere. Both officials and ordinary people in this commandery pray and make requests here, many of which are answered. Last year it rained for a long time, and so the prefect, the Honorable Zhang, welcomed the image of Chanyue [823–912] into the main hall of the commandery offices and made his request, and suddenly the skies then cleared.¹²⁰

Yongxi Temple is located north of Wu County. There is an old tradition that a member of the Lu family of this commandery gave his house to the Buddhist Church in order to establish [this temple], which was known by the name Flowing Water. In the past, there were three halls and three towers, which were built by the senior monk Qingxian. During the Yongxi reign era, the name was changed to its present designation. This temple has three subsidiary halls called “Avatamsaka,” “Samantabhadra,” and “Sengka”; they are all places where doctrine is expounded.

Auspicious Light Chan Buddhist Hall [Ruiguang Chanyuan] is located inside the Coiled Gate. There is an ancient tradition that this was founded by the Qian family, as a temple dedicated to the memory of the king of Guangling, and to the present day, a statue of the [king of] Guangling and other objects such as his everyday clothes and staff of office are still preserved here.¹²¹ In the middle of the Jiayou reign era [1056–1063], the fiscal commissioner Li Fugui requested the support of the Chan Buddhist masters attached to this temple, and then the people of Wu expended every effort on a major restoration in which it was effectively completely rebuilt. The councilor in chief, the Honorable Fu, wrote a record in praise of this, which was carved on stone and placed within the temple.

Spreading Transformation Buddhist Hall [Guanghua Chanyuan] is located west of Changzhou County. In the time of the Qian family, the head of the Construction Office gave his home to the Buddhist Church to establish it, but for a long time it was left in a terrible state of disrepair. From the Jiayou reign era onward, it was gradually restored, and the gates and buildings were completely renewed. [This temple] has a library [of sutras] that can be used to pacify the people.

Yongding Temple is located southwest of Wu County. In the Tianjian reign era of the Liang dynasty [502–519], the Gu family of Wu County gave their residence to the Buddhist Church to become this temple, and Lu Hongjian of the Tang dynasty wrote the calligraphy for the entrance inscription. When Wei of Suzhou ended his tour of office in the commandery, he retired to live in Yongding, which is probably this temple. In ancient times it stood within the borders of Changzhou [County]; now it is located in Anren Village in Yongding Township.

Peaceful Longevity Chan Buddhist Hall [Shouning Wansui Chanyuan] is located southeast of Changzhou [County]. In the Xiantong reign era of the Tang dynasty [860–873], the local man Sheng Chu and others built the Prajñā Temple [Banruosi].¹²² In the ninth year of the Zhidao reign era, [this temple] was presented with forty-eight scrolls in imperial calligraphy.¹²³ In the second year [996], it was given a new name, its present designation. The *Account of the Lands of Wu* says: “Within this commandery there is the Prajñā Tower, and inside there is a gilt-bronze image 1 *zhang* and 6 *chi* [5 m] high, which was made by the senior official Dai Yong.”¹²⁴ I went to visit this place but found no trace of this. It is probably correct that this temple used to be known as the Prajñā Temple.

Meditation Enlightenment Chan Buddhist Hall [Dinghui Chanyuan]

was originally a subsidiary of [Peaceful] Longevity [Chan Buddhist Hall], but during the [Dazhong] xiangfu reign era [1008–1016], it changed its name to its present designation. It preserves a collection of imperial calligraphy. Every year a monk is ordained here, and it is a place where monks and the laity gather together to chant sutras.

Great Benevolence Hall [Daciyuan] is located north of Changzhou County. In the third year of the Xiantong reign era [862] of the Tang dynasty, Attendant Censor Lu gave up his residence so that it could become this hall, and it was called “Northern Chan Buddhist [Hall].” During the [Dazhong] xiangfu reign era, its name was changed to the present designation. Pi [Rixiu] and Lu [Guimeng] composed “Linked Verses on Escaping the Heat at Northern Chan Buddhist [Hall],” and the commentary says: “In the past, this hall was the residence of Dai Yong, and later it became the home of Master Lu, Director of Merit Awards and Gentleman of the Interior,” which is a reference to this place.¹²⁵

Enlightenment Chan Buddhist Hall [Mingjue Chanyuan] is located southeast of Changzhou [County], and it is commonly known as Eastern Chan Buddhist [Hall]. At the time of the founding of the Jin dynasty, there was a monk [whose name in religion was] Yuxian, and whose original surname was Lin, who often indulged himself in meat and wine. If he happened to start drinking in any particular establishment, then they would sell several times as much alcohol as on other days, and so he had the common appellation Wine Sage. He was able to tell fortunes, and they were always correct. Those people to whom he gave amulets to cure their diseases all got well. In the second year of the Jianlong reign era [961], he came to live in this hall and constructed a Buddhist chamber and repaired the roads without any thought for the fact that it would cost hundreds of thousands in cash. Even though he said that he begged it off people, no one knew where he got the money. It seems that his appearance was similar to that of the bodhisattva Zhiji of Numinous Cliff Mountain, and he always gave people amulets, which served to spread his reputation. Some people say that he was a reincarnation [of the bodhisattva Zhiji]. His sculpted image is to this day preserved in this hall.¹²⁶

Zhu Ming Nunnery is located northwest of Wu County. There is an old tradition that in the time of the Eastern Jin dynasty there was a man named Zhu Ming, who was wealthy but also very friendly and a good son. His younger brother listened to his wife’s words and then chopped down the pillars to ruin the house and then demanded to leave his older brother and

set up a separate residence. Ming gave all the money and grain that he had to his younger brother, keeping only the empty house. One night there was a great storm that blew all the wealth and treasures back to Ming's house, and his younger brother and his wife were so ashamed that they hanged themselves. [Zhu] Ming then gave his house to the Buddhist Church to become this temple.

Cloud Cliff Temple [Yunyansi] is located at Tiger Hill 9 *li* [5 km] northwest of Changzhou [County], and during the Jin dynasty it was the residence of Wang Xun, Duke Mu of Tingxian, and his younger brother Min. In the second year of the Xianhe reign era [327], they gave [their property to the Buddhist Church] to build a meditation hall at Sword Pond, and then it was divided up to form the eastern and western temples, and both were located at the foot of the mountain. It seems that from the Huichang reign era [841–846], they were ruined and abandoned, and then later, people moved the temples to the top of the mountain. Now the site of the eastern temple has become people's fields, while about half of the western temple is completely overgrown. Inside the temple there are the Imperial Calligraphy Belvedere, Officials' Lodge, White Cloud Hall, and Five Bodhisattvas Tower; when you climb up to look at the view, it is extremely beautiful.¹²⁷ In addition there are the halls that house ancestral portraits of Grand Master of Remonstrance Chen Shenghua [939–1006], Hanlin Academician Wang Yucheng, Junior Grandee Ye Can, and Auxiliary Academician Jiang Tang.¹²⁸ In front of the temple there is the hall where Shenggong expounded and the place where the senior monk Master Zhudao recited the sutras. There is an old story that Shenggong set up stones to be his listeners and broke off a branch of a pine tree to be his pointer. Tiger Leap Spring and Lu Yu's [733–804] Well are still extant. In recent years one rock has been carved into the image of [the bodhisattva] Guanyin, and sutras have been inscribed on the sheer stone cliff faces around it. On the eastern peak the thatched hall was also very beautiful; sadly it has already been destroyed.

Western Chan Buddhist Hall [Xi'an Chanyuan] is located west of Tiger Hill. This originally belonged to Cloud Cliff Temple but later was separated to become a temple in its own right, and it also stands on the site of the old western temple. In recent years it has been somewhat restored.

Puming Chan Buddhist Hall is located 10 *li* [5.6 km] west of Wu County at Maple Bridge. The name of Maple Bridge is very ancient, since Du Mu [803–852, *jinshi* 825] mentions going there in one of his poems, and it is also recorded in the [*jue*]*ju* poem by Zhang Ji [712/715–779] “Evening Anchor-

age.”¹²⁹ Sun Chengyou [936–985] once built a pagoda there.¹³⁰ Recently, thanks to the support of the old monk Qinglai, it has been through a forty- or fifty-year program of restoration, and now you can go there to enjoy looking at the mountains and admire the rivers. There is an ancient mistake by which [this bridge] is known as Boundary [Feng] Bridge, but recently Grand Councilor Wang Xun was temporarily resident at Wumen, and he personally transcribed Zhang Ji’s poem onto stone, with the character for “maple” [*feng*] correctly given.

Sagacious and Benevolent Chan Buddhist Hall [Shousheng Yici Chanyuan] is located outside the Heavenly Gate, beside the tomb of Shi Changyan [d. 1064], Auxiliary Academician of the Bureau of Military Affairs, and recently it has been given an inscription.¹³¹

Heavenly Peak Hall [Tianfengyuan] is located 25 *li* [14 km] west of Wu County, on the southern peak of Mount Baoen. During the Eastern Jin dynasty, Abbot Zhi Dun lived here, and hence it also has the name Zhi-xing. On this mountain there is Zhi Dun Cave, Horse’s Hoofprint Rock, and Releasing Cranes Pavilion, all of which take their names from him. In the past, during the Tang dynasty, when the Requiring Kindness Temple was located on this mountain, then [Bai Juyi] and [Liu Yuxi] traveled to visit the temple and composed poetry.¹³² It seems that in the time of Emperor Wuzong [of the Tang dynasty], Requiring Kindness Temple was ruined, and even though it was restored, it has not regained its former glory. Therefore, even though Pi [Rixiu] and Lu [Guimeng] wrote “Linked Verses on the Southern Pool at Requiring Kindness Temple,” it gradually fell into desuetude.¹³³ In the middle of the Qiande reign era [963–967], the Qian family built Guanyin Hall on the foundations of Requiring Kindness Temple—it is now called “Lankavatara Hall”—which is this place. As for the so-called Southern Peak, in antiquity this was a subsidiary hall of Requiring Kindness [Temple] and is pillowed in the heart of great cliffs, [so that to get there,] you have to scramble among rocky clefts. Later, Requiring Kindness [Temple] declined, and yet Southern Peak [Temple] flourished. In the fifth year of the Dazhong reign era [851], it was named Zhi [Dun]’s Mountain. In the fifth year of the Tianfu reign era [640], it was renamed Southern Peak. Our present imperial house bestowed the inscription that still hangs there [upon it], and the old Chan Buddhist [monks] have handed down the tradition that the main hall, belvederes, halls, and side wings were all completely rebuilt at this time. It is located in the middle of the mountain with sheer cliffs [around it], with rocky passes and narrow and dangerous paths; in front it faces Ox

Head Mountain [Niutoushan], while to one side stands the Western Nunnery. Among other sights there are Green Jade Spring, Waiting for the Moon Peak, Southern Pool, New Spring, and so on, all of which have been famous since antiquity. There is an ancient tradition that Pei Xiu [791–846] wrote a calligraphic inscription [for this place], but it has now been lost.¹³⁴

Tianping Temple is located southwest of Wu County at the foot of the Tianping Mountains. On this mountain is White Cloud Spring, which was first mentioned in the poetry of the honorable Bai [Juyi].¹³⁵ This temple was constructed in the second year of the Baoli reign era [826]—that is the year that [Bai Juyi] was the censor of Suzhou—and it is probably because of the spring that the temple prospered. Fan Wenzheng's ancestors were buried beside it, and he gave them an inscription that reads "White Cloud Temple."¹³⁶ In the middle, there is a memorial hall dedicated to [Fan] Wenzheng.

Pure Reflection Temple [Zhengzhaosi] is located at the foot of Mount Yang, northwest of Changzhou County. There is a local tradition that this was the home of Ding Lingwei. The *Illustrated Guide* mentions the residence of Ding Lingwei within the borders of Wu County. How can that be? In the time of the Qian family, a spring burst out in the middle of the temple, and so they named it Miraculous Spring and later changed the name to Pure Reflection Temple.

White Lotus Chan Buddhist Hall [Bailian Chanyuan] was originally a nunnery subordinate to Pure Reflection [Temple], but in the pond there grew a one-thousand-petal white lotus flower, hence the name of this hall. At the beginning of the Duangong reign era [988], Adviser to the Heir Apparent Xie Tao studied in the western wing of this hall, and the following year, when he passed the examinations, his son [Xie] Jiang had a stone carved to make a record of this.¹³⁷

Elegant Peak Temple [Xiufengsi] is located at Numinous Cliff Mountain. It was established in the middle of the Tianjian reign era of the Liang dynasty [502–519]; at the end of a kalpa, suddenly a strange man painted the image of a monk in a corner of the main hall. By chance an Indian monk saw it and said: "That is the bodhisattva Zhiji." It then transformed into a responsive [image], and a great many prayers addressed to it were answered. Although this image has been repainted many times, the people of Wu still have great respect for it as a manifestation of Maitreya.¹³⁸ This temple stands within the precincts of an ancient palace, and the vistas here are very lovely. Given that in antiquity this was the residence of a member of the aristocracy, it cannot be rebuilt, which has resulted in many differences of opinion

among local officials [about what to do about it]. The prefect, the Honorable Yan, made this place a Chan Buddhist foundation, and people have greatly profited by this.

Yao Peak Hall [Yaofengyuan] is located beside Mount Heng in Wu County. There is a local tradition that Yao's people escaped from the waters here, and Su [Shunqin] wrote a poem that runs:

To the southwest I climb Yao's Peak;
Locals say that it was created by Yao.
The spreading waters were not able to drown it;
On top a myriad people found asylum.¹³⁹

That is a reference to this place. At the end of the Tang dynasty, the Chan Buddhist master Huiqi built the first meditation hall here, and its name was Escaping the Waters, and later this was changed to Yao Peak, and there are further traditions about this. Climbing up high, you can see a great distance, and the neighboring lands are spread out in a magnificent spectacle.

Lankavatara Temple [Lengjiashi] is located below Mount Heng southwest of Wu County. At the top there is a pagoda, on one of the peaks of Mount Heng, which was built during the Sui dynasty. There is a stone inscription recording this which is still extant there, and Bai [Juyi], Pi [Rixiu], and Lu [Guimeng] wrote poems that are collected there.¹⁴⁰ Beside this temple there is a vast well, too deep to be plumbed, and around the well is a stone railing, and beside the railing there is a carved record by a Sui dynasty person to say that when Yang Su moved the commandery seat to below Mount Heng, he took his residence at this spot. This temple has close links to the two temples Accumulated Treasures [Baoji] and Peaceful World [Zhiping], which were built nearby.

Brilliant Response Chan Buddhist Hall [Mingyin Chanyuan] is located below Mount Heng. The tomb of [Qian] Yuanliao, the king of Guangling, is located beside it, hence the [alternative] name Praying for Blessings [Hall]. In the past, the Chan master Yihuai lived and died here. This hall has a collection of sutras that, according to an old tradition, were transcribed by [the king of] Guangling's concubine.

Appreciation of Benevolence Chan Buddhist Hall [Gansi Chanyuan] stands next to Praying for Blessings [Hall]. It is associated with the temple dedicated to the memory of Zheng [Jian, better known by his posthumous title] the Noble and Respected, the commissioner of the Court of Palace Attendants.

Manifest Wisdom Chan Buddhist Hall [Zhixian Chanyuan] is located below Mount Heng. During the Liang dynasty, Wu Guang gave up his residence to build this temple, and it was named Precious Grove [of Nirvana Hall]. The Qian family changed the name to Buddhist Flower [Hall], and hence to the present-day [Mount Heng] is known by the name Buddhist Flower Mountain [Baohuashan]. In the middle of the [Dazhong] xiangfu reign era [1008–1016], the Chan Buddhist master Ke—who had achieved wordless enlightenment—rebuilt the main hall and side wings and a three-hundred-beam sutra library, and [the temple] was known as Glorious Buddhist Monastery [Shengsha]. At some point before this, the monk Kankan used a tin [hammer] to make a hole in the rock, and a pure spring gushed out; even though this spring dried out and did not get any deeper, Master Ke decided that this spring was big enough for their purposes, and it survives right up to the present day.

Brilliant Blessings Temple [Guangfusi] is located southwest of Wu County and was built during the Liang dynasty. In recent years, local residents found a bronze statue of Guanyin by the riverside, and they placed it in the temple, and when people prayed to it, in many cases their prayers were answered. Sometimes [this image] is taken into the commandery seat, and prayers and requests made on these occasions are always answered.

High Peak Chan Buddhist Hall [Gaofeng Chanyuan] is located on Mount Xu, but in antiquity, it stood on Dongting [Island]. In recent years, Zhang Zi, a native of this commandery, buried a family member below Mount Xu, and beside [the grave] he built a meditation hall and then requested that the inscription [for High Peak Chan Buddhist Hall] be transferred here. [Zhang] Zi's younger brother [Zhang] Xun is presently in office as the vice director of the Ministry of Revenue.

Water Moon Chan Buddhist Hall [Shuiyue Chanyuan] is located below Piaomiao Peak on Dongting Island, about 100 *li* [56 km] from Wu County. It was established during the Liang dynasty and then destroyed during the Sui. In the middle of the Guanghua reign era of the Tang dynasty [898–900], there was a Buddhist [whose name in religion was] Zhiqin, who built a house here and increased the size of the sutra library from fifteen beams to several hundred. In the fourth year of the Tianyou reign era [907], the censor Cao Gui named it Bright Moon [Hall].¹⁴¹ In the middle of the Dazhong xiangfu reign era [1008–1016], it changed to its present name. Beside this mountain there is a spring that is sweet and clear, and even in years of drought it does not dry up.

Solitary Garden Temple [Guyuansi] is located on Dongting Island. It was the residence of Wu Meng, Cavalier Attendant-in-Ordinary, of the Liang dynasty, and he gave it to the Buddhist Church to become a meditation hall.

Gathered Illumination Temple [Huijusi] is located 3 *li* [1.7 km] northwest of Kunshan County at Mount Ma'an. This single peak is very beautiful, and from it you can see both the sea and the lakes, a vista of some hundred *li*. In the past, there was a senior monk named Huixiang who was the spiritual adviser to Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty, who meditated on this mountain with two tigers to guard him, which moved the spirits to wish to work for him, and they requested that he direct them.¹⁴² There was then a terrible storm overnight in Liu County, and everyone heard the sound of howling. When it got light, the foundations for the main hall [of this temple] were complete, stretching out 17 *zhang* [53 m], and 1 *zhang* and 2 *chi* [3.76 m] high, with great stones piled up, all as straight as an arrow. This could not have been achieved by human effort. The magistrate heard about this, and Emperor Wu then commanded the construction of this temple and ordered Zhang Sengyao [fl. 502–549] to depict spirits on the two [side] walls and to paint dragons on the four pillars.¹⁴³ People in Lou Township who became ill with pestilence or malaria would be cured when they came to the walls. Every time the storm clouds threatened rain, the painted dragons would absorb the moisture and their scales seemed to move, but Zhang Sengyao had also painted locks with which to control them. During the Huichang reign era [841–846], the temple was destroyed, but the dragon pillars were preserved in the commandery seat. In the Dazhong reign era [847–859], [the temple] was rebuilt, and the pillars were put back together with the inscription in golden calligraphy and the great [temple] bell. In the middle of the Zhidao reign era [995–997], Commandery General Chen Shenghua once happened to travel to this temple, and he found the cliff-side caves very remarkable, with an enormous number of beautiful vistas.¹⁴⁴ The poets Meng Jiao [751–814] and Zhang Hu composed poetry [about this site], and the present grand counselor Wang [Anshi] also composed verse using the same rhymes, which has been carved onto stone here.¹⁴⁵

Promoting Blessings Temple [Xingfusi] is located at Mount Po in Changshu County, in a scenic spot from which you can see the sea. The Qi dynasty censor of Linzhou Ni Deguang [fl. late fifth century] gave his residence to the Buddhist Church to establish this temple. In the Tang dynasty, Chang Jian [708–765?] wrote a poem that reads:

A bamboo-lined path communicates with shady places,
A Chan Buddhist foundation is surrounded by flowering trees.
The mountain light pleases the birds,
The reflections on the pool rests the visitor's heart.¹⁴⁶

That refers to this place. In this mountain there is the Dragon Fighting Gulf, since during the Zhengguan reign era of the Tang dynasty [627–649], a woman living on this mountain gave birth to a white dragon, which then fought with another dragon at this place, creating this gulf.¹⁴⁷ There is also Resting the Heart Pool, which takes its name from Chang Jian's poem. There is an imperial bell that was bestowed in the sixth year of the Xiantong reign era [865] by Tang Yizong [r. 860–873]. There is the Wenju Pagoda and the Tiru Pagoda; both of these men were senior monks here during the Tang dynasty. There is also the Rescuing a Tiger Belvedere, for during the Five Dynasties, the monk Yanzhou took an arrow out of a tiger at this spot. There is also the Ancestral Teachings Hall, for during the Yongxi reign era [984–987], the senior monk Wuen [912–986] rectified the teachings of the Tiantai School of Buddhism at this place, hence the name. Recently, Liu Zaiyi, the palace aide to the censor in chief, wrote “Eight Poems” in order to commemorate this matter.

Mountains

The names of many mountains of Wu Commandery are recorded in maps and texts, so I will not simply list them all again. Instead, I have researched traditions and records, to fill in any gaps, that this material may become more widely known.

Tiger Hill is located 9 *li* [5 km] northwest of Wu County. Ancient records describe this in meticulous detail; for example, both the *Spring and Autumn Annals of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yue* and the *Lost Histories of Yue* say that Helü was buried here and that there was a phenomenon associated with the essence of the metal [interred with him], which gave rise to the name Tiger Hill.¹⁴⁸ However, from the form of the cliffs and valleys, they seem to have been created by nature, so I suspect that the hill was already here and that Helü chose to be buried here for that reason. In the Jin dynasty, Wang Xun compiled the *Record of Mountains* [Shanming], which says: “Tiger Hill was originally known as Bubbling Sea Mountain.” It also says: “The shape of this mountain is such that it rises up on all four sides to form a single peak, and

to the south there is a mountain road with sheer cliffs on either side, and the trees meet above, making the ascent and descent very dark and sometimes impassable.”¹⁴⁹ This is probably true. Chu Yuan [435–482] once sighed and said: “What people say often far surpasses the actual facts, but now I have seen Tiger Hill, which is far more beautiful than I have been told.”¹⁵⁰ There is an ancient tradition that this is the most characteristic beautiful landscape to be found on the left bank of the Yangzi River. There is an ancient tradition that the First Emperor of Qin was looking for swords here, and the earth split to form a pond. The *Record of Universal Geography of the Taiping Reign Era* says: “This mountain gulf was opened by Sun Quan in order to gain access to the treasures of King Helü.”¹⁵¹ It is not yet clear whether this is true or not. Beside the waters there is a flat stone that is large enough to fit one thousand people, and therefore it is called “Thousand Man Seat,” though there is a popular tradition that says that Shenggong expounded on doctrine here, and that is how it got its name.

Mount Heng is located southwest of Wu County. The *Treatise on the Ten Circuits* [Shidao zhi] says: “The four faces of this mountain are all quite low-sloping [*heng*].”¹⁵² It is probably from this fact that it derives its name. It is also called “Sitting by the Lake Mountain” [Juhushan], *ju* [to sit] being sometimes given as *ju* [to rely on], and in the middle is the tomb of Lu Yun [262–303], though now its location is unknown. If you look at this mountain, [you would see that] it would have guarded the southwestern corner [of the ancient] kingdom [of Wu], overlooking Lake [Tai] and keeping control of Yue. Indeed, in the time of Wu, this must have been vital territory [to hold]. In the Kaihuang reign era of the Sui dynasty, they moved the commandery seat to the east of Mount Heng so that this mountain might form a protective barrier for it. This mountain encompasses a vast area and is surrounded by Buddhist temples such as Offering Blessings [Jianfu], Lankavartara, Buddhist Flower, and Yao’s Peak, all of which are still extant. Next to Offering Blessings Temple there are five little fortresses, and in the middle of the Huangyou reign era, the prefectural judge Ma Yun and the recluse Chou Dao named them Fragrant Cassia, Bamboo Stave, Bubbling Spring, Vermilion Haze, and White Cloud respectively, probably on the basis of their appearance.

Mount Gusu is located 35 *li* [20 km] west of Wu County and touches the north side of Mount Heng. Some people call it “Guxu,” and some call it “Guyu,” but in fact it is the same thing. There is a tradition that says Helü built Gusu Tower [here], though according to one account, it was King

Fuchai. *Zuo's Tradition* says: "Helü did not eat food with complex flavors, nor did he require many layers of carpets in his house; his furniture was neither painted red nor inlaid, his palaces had no towers, and his boat and chariot were not ornamented."¹⁵³ And yet the *Spring and Autumn Annals of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yue* says that Helü traveled in the morning to [Gu] su Tower.¹⁵⁴ Perhaps the foundations for this tower were laid under Helü, and it was redecorated in the reign of King Fuchai. Even with all the resources of the kingdom of Wu, it took three years to collect enough material and another five years to complete the building, and it was high enough to see 300 *li* from the top, so even [the kingdom of] Chu's Zhanghua [Tower] could not compete. Before this, the king of Yue obtained a pair of amazing trees, 12 *wei* in circumference and 50 *xun* high. He had them worked with cunning skill, cut with planes and inked lines, carved and painted, ornamented with white jade, inlaid with gold in the forms of dragons and serpents, so that they sparkled and shone in the light, and then he presented them to the king of Wu. The king was absolutely delighted, and he received them and erected Gusu Tower. Shen Xu [Wu Zixu] remonstrated and said: "Your majesty has now changed the work of Gun and Yu as you make the high higher and the low lower; you are exhausting your people with [the work at] Gusu, and so the people of Wu are becoming alienated from you." When Fuchai was killed, the deer roamed here.¹⁵⁵ In the past, the Grand Historian said: "I climbed Gusu and looked out at the Five Lakes."¹⁵⁶ But now, no one knows where it is located. I once wanted to cut back the weeds and brambles to visit it, but it was not possible.

Mount Xu is located 40 *li* [22.4 km] west of Wu County. The *Record of Universal Geography [of the Taiping Reign Era]* says: "The king of Wu killed [Wu] Zixu and threw [his body] into the river. The people of Wu established a shrine to his memory above the river, and therefore this place is called 'Xu Mountain.'"¹⁵⁷ Li [Daoyuan] [466/472–527] in the [*Classic of Waterways* (Shuijing)] says: "On top of Mount Xu there is now found a platform, and the elders say that it was established for the spirit of Xu. Below there is a road with nine bends, and to the south you can see Lake Tai; thus Helü created this in order to travel to Guxu Tower and look out over Lake Tai."¹⁵⁸ Some say that Mount Gusu is also named Mount Xu.

Mount Zuo'e is located 15 *li* [8.4 km] southwest of Wu County. The *Illustrated Guide* says: "It is shaped like a lion." Now they have named the mountain accordingly. Li [Daoyuan] calls it "Mount Zuoge."¹⁵⁹ There is a popular saying that it originally stood in Lake Tai, but when Yu controlled the waters,

he moved it closer to Wu. There are two small mountains, one to the east and one to the southwest, both of which have stones shaped like rollers, and these are said to have been used by Yu to move the mountain. In the middle of Lake Tai there is a shallow area, which the elders say was the original site of Mount Zuo'e; from this point eastward, [the water] is much deeper. They are probably talking about Lü Alley. The *Record of the Lands of Wu* says: "King Liao of Wu was buried on this mountain, and on the side of the mountain there is a temple called 'Siyi.'" [Bai Juyi] once visited this place.

Mount Baoen is also known by the name Mount Zhixing and is located 25 *li* [14 km] southwest of Wu County. In the past, there was a Requiring Kindness Temple here, hence the name. The Eastern Peak and the Western Peak are both separate peaks of this mountain. Nowadays Lankavatara, Heavenly Peak, and Central Peak Halls have been built beside it. There is a poem by [Bai Juyi] that runs:

Bare rocks form scattered seats;
A cold spring is used to wet a towel.¹⁶⁰

That is a reference to this mountain.

Inkstone Mountain [Yanshishan] is located 21 *li* [11.8 km] west of Wu County. West of this mountain there is a stone drum, so it is also known by the name Stone Drum Mountain [Shigushan]. The *Lost Histories of Yue* says: "The people of Wu used inkstones to build Lodging Beauties Palace."¹⁶¹ Yang Xiong [58 BCE–18 CE] in the *Regional Words* [Fangyan] says, "The people of Wu call beautiful women *wa*," though this place probably derived its name from Lady Xi [Shi].¹⁶² The "Wu Capital Rhapsody" says:

When the king visits Lodging Beauties Palace,
A troupe of female musicians entertains the assemblage.

This is a reference to this place.¹⁶³ On top of the mountain there are three pools—one is called "Moon Pond," one is called "Inkstone Pond," and one is called "Enjoying the Flowers Pond." Even in a drought, they never run dry, and very beautiful water caltrops grow there. [These ponds] were most likely dug in the time of Wu. There is an ancient tradition that Lute Tower was located on top of this mountain and that there was also an Echoing Steps Corridor, also sometimes called "Sounding Clogs Corridor," for they used elm and catalpa [planks] to cover the ground, and when Lady Xi walked there, it sounded, hence the name. Below there is a stone chamber that is still extant, and it is popularly said that the king of Wu imprisoned Fan Li in this

place. Where the mountain peaks meet, there is Huo Village. This mountain is quarried for stone that can be used to make inkstones, and so the name Inkstone [Mountain] is not an empty one. I once climbed the slopes of the Numinous Cliff [Lingyanshan], looked down on Lake Tai, and gazed upon the Dongting Islands in that vast expanse of water, and at a glance I could see 1,000 *li*. Verdant cliffs and emerald embankments lay like gems between the waves; it was really an exceptionally beautiful vista. Some people say that Lu Wan of the Jin dynasty gave his home to the Buddhist Church to become a temple, and that this is Numinous Cliff Temple.

Mount Yang is located 30 *li* [16.8 km] northwest of Wu County. It is also known by the names Mount Qinyuhang and Soaring in All Directions Mountain [Sifeishan]. White mineral is found here that can be used to whitewash walls and which at its purest and whitest is like face powder. In the time of the Tang dynasty, this was sent [to the capital] annually [as tribute]. Therefore it also has the alternative designation Kaolin Mountain [Baishan]. The *Spring and Autumn Annals of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yue* says: “The king of Yue buried Fuchai at Beiyong on Mount Qinyuhang.”¹⁶⁴ That is a reference to this mountain. Today Summoning Purity Monastery and White Lotus Hall are located below it.

Flower Mountain [Huashan] is located 60 *li* [33.6 km] west of Wu County. It is uniquely beautiful among the surrounding mountains, and from a distance it looks like a screen, covered in dense forest, all lush and mysterious. Some of the people who have climbed to the summit say that they saw a rock shaped like a lotus flower there, and it probably derives its name from this. Some say that during the Taikang reign era of the Jin dynasty, a thousand-petal lotus flower bloomed here. Laozi in *Notes Kept Inside a Pillow* [Zhenzhong ji] mentions that you can escape from trouble [here].¹⁶⁵ The caves here are very deep, and it is easy to get lost in them. In antiquity there was a Promoting the Faith Hall here, which occupied half the mountain. Recently it has become a Chan Buddhist foundation.

Spirit-Level Mountain [Tianpingshan] is located 20 *li* [11 km] west of Wu County. [This mountain] is very imposing and high, and the peaks seem to wrap around, so that [this mountain] guards the whole commandery.¹⁶⁶ The trees in the forest here are beautiful, and look very lovely. Travelers have to walk through narrow defiles and scramble over massive rocks in order to reach the heart of the mountain. On top of the mountain there is a pavilion, and beside the pavilion there is a pure spring that runs cold and clear and never dries up; this is the so-called White Cloud Spring. The fame of

this place has spread among us since Bai [Juyi] composed a *jueju* here and Fan Wenzheng continued the process with his own lengthy poem.¹⁶⁷ There is Brushrest Peak, Crouching Dragon Peak, Turban Peak, Five *Zhang* Peak, the Stone Turtle, Reflecting Lake Mirror, Mao-Fish Pond, and little and large stone chambers, all of which have become well known thanks to curious travelers.

Massive Mountain [Qionglongshan] is located 60 *li* [33.6 km] west of Wu County. There is an ancient tradition that Master Red Pine ate cassia seeds and *shizhi* before declining all food completely and becoming a transcendent. He once found red *shizhi* on this mountain, and hence the “Wu Capital Rhapsody” says: “Red Whiskers shed his worldly skin and attached himself to this soil.”¹⁶⁸ That is a reference to this.

Mount Bao is located in the middle of the Trembling Marsh. This mountain contains a forest cave, and in the past, the king of Wu sent a brave man into this cave [complex], and even after seventeen days he could not reach the end. However, he obtained the *Five Talismans of the Numinous Treasure* [Lingbao wufu] from this cave, which he then presented [to the king]. *Commentary on the “Classic of Waterways”* [Shuijing zhu] says: “This mountain contains a cave, and it goes deep underground. It stretches as far north as Langya and Dongwu [in Shandong]; that is why it is commonly called ‘Dongting’ [Grotto-Heaven].”¹⁶⁹ In the first year of Duke Ai of Lu, King Fuchai defeated Yue at Fujiao, which is this mountain. Some people say that there is another Fujiao Mountain in Lake Tai, but it cannot be very far from this mountain, and so the same designation can be used for both places. As for the mountains in Lake Tai, there are the Great Thunder [Dalei] and Little Thunder [Xiaolei], which make three mountains in all; hence in the past, some people called it “Three Mountains Lake” [Sanshanhu]. There is an ancient tradition that there are in fact seventy-two mountains in the Trembling Marsh, of which Dongting is simply the largest. [Bai Juyi] once sailed on a boat to Dongting and recorded this in his poetic works.¹⁷⁰ Lu Guimeng and Pi Rixiu between them wrote twenty poems titled “Lake Tai,” recording Supernatural Light Temple, Duke of Mao’s Altar, Piaomiao Peak, Peach Blossom Fortress, Bright Moon Bay, Lian Canal, Jumping Dragon Pool, Solitary Garden Village, Transcendent Temple, Avoiding the Summer Heat Bay, Shenggu Temple, Mountain Village, Stone Slab, and so on, all of which are located on this mountain. Su [Shunqin] wrote: “On Dongting, the customs of the people are very simple, and for many years they have not even once gone to present a case at the magistrate’s court. Mulberries, gardenias, and

sweet oranges are the most commonly grown products. Every autumn as the frosts begin to bite, the leaves go crimson and the fruit goes vermillion, while the tall pine trees and evergreens stand opposite each other divided by cliffs or ravines. Looking at it from a distance, it is as beautiful as a painting done in gold and emerald green.”¹⁷¹

Mount Kun is located northwest of the eponymous county. Some say that it was located in Huating, since the county of Huating was created by partitioning off part of Kunshan [County]. Lu Ji of the Jin dynasty and his younger brother [Lu] Yun were both born in Huating, and due to their high level of culture, they were honored by an entire generation. At that time, people compared them to the jade found at the Kun[lun Mountains], and hence this mountain obtained its present name.

Mount Haiou is located in Changshu [County]. This mountain contains two caves, and next to the caves there is a stone platform measuring 60 *zhang* [188 m] in circumference. Two *li* [1.1 km] east of the mountain is a stone chamber. Zhongyong of Wu, Zhouzhang, and the oldest son of King Helü are all buried on this mountain. Three *li* [1.65 km] northwest of the mountain is a temple to King Goujian of Yue. Crown Prince Zhaoming of the Liang dynasty composed “Stele Inscription for Summoning Purity Monastery,” which says: “Wu Xian came from Mount Yu. These high cliffs soar upward, forming peaks wreathed in dark clouds; the waterfalls pour downward, to mingle like the Milky Way.” It also says: “This peak has a stone fortification and a stone gate.”¹⁷² That is a reference to this mountain.

Waters

Lake Tai is located south of Wu County. The “Tribute of Yu” [chapter of the *Book of Documents*] calls it “the Trembling Marsh,” while the *Rites of Zhou* and the *Dictionary of Refined Words* call it “Juqu,” and *Records of the Grand Historian* and *Discourses of the States* call it “the Five Lakes”; in fact they are the same thing.¹⁷³ It debouches into the Yangzi River and the sea and is encompassed within the borders of Danyang, Yixing, Wu Commandery, and Wuxing. The area that it covers is so great that it is called “Tai,” or “Vast.” The *Book of Documents* says: “When the three rivers entered the sea, the Trembling Marsh was stilled.” The three rivers are the northern, central, and southern branches of the Yangzi River. The northern branch of the Yangzi passes Danyang and Piling and is now known as the Great River [Dajiang]. The central branch of the Yangzi starts at Wuhu and moves east to Yangx-

ian. The southern branch of the Yangzi divides at Shicheng before passing through Wanling and arriving at Juqu. These three rivers are located above and below the Trembling Marsh, and they all flow into the sea, so the excess from the Trembling Marsh can run off that way, leaving the level of its waters stable.¹⁷⁴ Today the old course of [two of these] rivers has become blocked in the middle, and therefore the Trembling Marsh suffers from flooding; a situation entirely to be expected. As for the so-called Five Lakes, it is a term probably derived from the incorporation of five lakes [into one]. Guo [Pu] in his “Rhapsody on the Yangzi River” [Jiangfu] says: “It binds the Five Lakes into an endless body of water.”¹⁷⁵ This means that the waters of the Yangzi River encircle the Five Lakes and bind together the Trembling Marsh. There is an ancient tradition that each one of the Five Lakes had its own name. According to the *Illustrated Guide*, the first was called “Lake Gong,” the second “Lake You,” the third “Lake Xu,” the fourth “Lake Meiliang,” and the fifth “Lake Jinding.” Li [Daoyuan] says that the five are Changtang Lake, Gui Lake, Shang Lake, Ge Lake, and Lake Tai.¹⁷⁶ Wei Zhao [204–273] says: “Xu Lake, Li Lake, Zhao Lake, and Ge Lake together with Lake Tai make five.”¹⁷⁷ Yu Zhongxiang says: “As for Lake Tai, to the east it communicates with the Song River of Changzhou, to the south it communicates with the Zhaxi River of Wucheng, to the west it communicates with the Jingxi River of Yixing, to the north it communicates with Gehu in Jinling, and to the east it communicates with the Feixi River of Jiaying. In all, there are these five waterways, and hence it is known as the Five Lakes.”¹⁷⁸ Lu [Guimeng] said that Lake Tai was imbued with the *qi* of Xianchi and that is why one body of water had five names.¹⁷⁹ This was also the abode of the immortal Fuyu. Therefore his poem reads:

I once experienced the *qi* of Xianchi
 Flowing down to form a beautiful vista.
 Now enveloped in roseate mist,
 It still laves the bright sun.

He also wrote: “My abode is Fuyu’s Mountain, the Kun[lun Mountains], or the Land of Immortals.”¹⁸⁰ That is a reference to this place. There are seventy-two islands in the lake, both large and small, and Dongting is one of them. There is Big Thunder [Daleishan] and Little Thunder Island [Xiaoleishan], which stand 10 *li* [5.6 km] apart; the area between them is known as Thunder Marsh [Leize]. Some say that the sage-king Shun went fishing here, but that

is wrong. There are also the Triple Islands [Sanshan], which form three dark specks where the waves [of the lake] meet the sky. Lu [Ji] gave a poem on this subject to Gu Yanxian, and it read:

My house is located south of the Five Lakes;
You live south of the Triple Islands.¹⁸¹

That is a reference to these islands.

The Song River leaves Lake Tai and enters the sea. Wei Zhao thought that the three rivers were the Song, the Zhe, and the Puyang.¹⁸² Today the Zhe and Puyang Rivers do not enter the Trembling Marsh, and so what Wei [Zhao] says is wrong. In antiquity, the king of Wu camped north of the Yangzi River and the king of Yue camped south of the Yangzi River. The king of Yue then divided his forces, forming a left and a right army, with orders to march at all speed 5 *li* [2.8 km] upstream and wait while the central army gradually crossed over. The Wu army then suffered a terrible defeat, and all that happened at this river. Li [Daoyuan] says: “On leaving the lake, the Song River runs 70 *li* [39.2 km] in a northeastly direction, at which point the waters of the river divide, and this is called the mouth of the three rivers [*sanjiangkou*].”¹⁸³ The *Spring and Autumn Annals of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yue* says: “Fan Li left Yue and rode on his boat out of the mouth of the three rivers, entering the Five Lakes.”¹⁸⁴ That is a reference to this place. Yu Zhongchu in the commentary on “Rhapsody on Yangdu” [Yangdu fu] says: “The eastern outflow of Lake Tai forms the Song River, and after traveling 70 *li* [39.2 km], there is a division; the Lou River flows northeast to enter the sea, the Dong River flows southeast to enter the sea, and with the Song River itself they form the three rivers.”¹⁸⁵ These are not the three rivers mentioned in the “Tribute of Yu” [chapter of the *Book of Documents*]. Today the Song River flows through Wujiang County, passes Fu Village, traverses Huating, and enters Green Dragon Garrison [Qinglongzhen], so this is where merchants dealing in overseas trade gather. The *Illustrated Guide* says: “Where the Song River debouches into the sea in the east is called ‘Hudu,’ and it is also known as Huhai.” Today there is a Hudu Village beside Green Dragon Garrison, as is correct. The river flows from the lake to the sea 260 *li* [145 km] away, and on both sides there are several hundred drainage canals. These snake around and have often been brought together to form concourses, [for the local people] rely on them to clear excess waters and thus avoid disastrous flooding.¹⁸⁶ Some say that the mouth of the Song River used to be very

deep, but it was not looked after for a long time and so gradually silted up, as a result of which it is possible to make a bridge to ford it. There are also some who say that there was once a terrible flood and the waters could not drain away, and hence this present situation was created. The Song River is also known by the name Bamboo Hat Marsh [Lize], and Lu [Guimeng] lived at Fu Village there, so he called his works *Collected Writings from Bamboo Hat Marsh* [Lize congshu].

The Grand Canal leaves from the Trembling Marsh. [Zuo's] *Tradition* says: "The Han Canal in the city of Wu communicates with the Yangzi and Huai Rivers."¹⁸⁷ *Discourses of the States* also says: "Fuchai raised an army and went on campaign in the north, making a deep canal between them, which communicated with Shang and Lu."¹⁸⁸ From this it would seem that this canal communicated with [the region] north of the Yangzi River. In the sixth year of the Daye reign era [610] of the Sui dynasty, an imperial edict commanded the opening of the Jiangnan Canal, which traversed more than 800 *li* [448 km] from the gates of the capital to Yuhang Commandery, and which was more than 10 *zhang* [31 m] wide in order to allow the passage of dragon-boats traveling to Kuaiji. Lu Shiheng wrote a poem that reads:

The Heavenly Gate soars upward;
Its flying buttresses straddle the waves.

[Bai Juyi] wrote a poem that reads:

These peaceful waters traverse seven hundred *li*,
Watering two or three provinces.¹⁸⁹

These both refer to this canal. In years of drought or after the buildup of silt, further dredging is carried out to ensure that no obstructions remain.

The New Canal [Xinhe] is found within the city. Du Xunhe [846–904] wrote a poem that reads:

The night market sees the sale of water chestnuts and lotus roots;
The boats in spring are piled high with silks and gauzes.¹⁹⁰

It probably refers to this [canal]. During the [Dazhong] xiangfu reign era [1008–1016], when Commissioner for Fostering Propriety Qin Xi was the prefect of this commandery, he ordered that it be widened.

The Seven Dikes are all located outside the gates to [Su]zhou. There is a poem by [Bai Juyi] that reads: “Seven dikes, eight gates, and sixty wards.”¹⁹¹ The *Illustrated Guide* says: “There are sixteen disused dikes.” Apparently [Bai Juyi] was speaking only of the nearest ones. There is an old story that these were places where the waters were dammed to raise fish, though some people say that they were built to protect people’s houses from flooding from upstream. In recent years the embankments within the city have gradually been raised, and so therefore, even though these dikes have been removed, there has been no serious disaster.

Yuelai Stream is located on the boundaries of Wu County, and from Lake Tai it passes Mount Heng before arriving at the west side of the commandery walls. The king of Yue arrived at Wu along this river, hence the name [which literally means “Yue came this way”].

Li [Daoyuan], speaking of the Gu River, says: “The Song River has a branch that travels southeast for 70 *li* [39.2 km], at which point it enters a small lake and then exits on the southeastern side of the lake, and this is called the Gu River. After leaving the small lake, the Gu River passes below the ancient city walls of Youjuan County, which during the Qin dynasty was known as Changshui County. Then again traveling southeast, it passes west of the city walls of Jiaxing County and south of the old city walls of Yanguan County, across Wuyuan [County], before debouching into a delta where it joins the ocean.”¹⁹² Lu Ji wrote a poem that reads:

Wandering around on the north bank of the Gu River,
I admire the northern face of Mount Kun.¹⁹³

That is a reference to this river. This waterway is large enough to be distinguished from the Trembling Marsh and the Song River, and it entered the sea to the south. In later generations, the Gu River gradually silted up, and people forgot the name, for there are many rivers in Central Wu. I once asked an old gentleman about this, and he told me that as the Song River flowed east, [the waters] collected into little lakes, which in the northwestern part [of the waterway] formed the four lakes known as White Fresh-water Clam [Baixian], Stallion [Mateng], Gu, and Turtle [Daimei]. The so-called Gu Lake is an ancient remnant of the Gu River. To the south this meets the Sanmao River. The Mao is divided into upper, middle, and lower courses. There is an old tradition that Lu [Ji] told Emperor Wu of the Jin dynasty: “The Sanmao River is warm in winter and cool in the sum-

mer.”¹⁹⁴ That must be this place. The narrowest part of the Mao River is still 80 *zhang* [250 m] across, and it flows to meet the Luli Canal in Haiyan [County]. Haiyan is also known as Wuyuan. After traveling more than 200 *li* [112 km], it reaches the Zhe River to the south. I suspect that this was the old course of the Gu River. The *Classic of Waterways* says that it reaches the sea, but this river enters the [Zhe] River, though this is probably just because it follows a different branch.¹⁹⁵ In the second year of the Datong reign era [536] of the Liang dynasty, there were terrible floods in Wuxing, and so the emperor ordered the former censor of Jiaozhou, Wang Bian, to open a great canal that would drain the floodwaters of the Trembling Marsh into the Zhe River, which must be the above-mentioned canal.¹⁹⁶ Some ruins survive beside the canal, and in the Tang dynasty, dikes were built here in order to control the tidal waters. In the middle of the Jiayou reign era, Gusu suffered terrible floods, and so the emperor ordered Shen Hengxiang, a supernumerary official from the Criminal Administration Bureau [in the Department of Justice], to conduct an inspection, and he recommended restoring this canal, but this has not yet been carried out.

The Kunshan Embankment runs from Lou Gate through Kunshan County until it reaches the sea; this is also the Lou River. According to Li [Daoyuan]’s commentary on Yu Zhongchu’s “Rhapsody on Yangdu”: “To the east Lake Tai flows into the Song River, which after 70 *li* [39.2 km] reaches the point where it divides, with the Lou River flowing northeast toward the sea, the Dong River flowing southeast to the sea, and the Song River itself forming the third.”¹⁹⁷ Lou is the name of a county, which is now known as Kunshan. Embankments have been built on both sides; in all, there are six embankments, forty-four drainage canals, and sixty-four fords, and it flows into lakes and marshes. In the past, the reason people ran floodwaters off from the Juqu was to prepare irrigation for their paddy fields.

The Changshu Embankment runs north out of Qi Gate to Changshu [County], which is more than 100 *li* [56 km] away, and all along the way there are drainage ditches and canals that enter [three characters illegible in the original]. When you divide a waterway in order to drain off the waters, then you create ditches; when you direct the flow into a river, then you build canals, and they have a myriad names. The waters of the Kun and the Yangcheng Lakes both rely on this for their drainage.

The Xinyang River is located within the boundaries of Kunshan County. Originally it was a natural river, but in the time of the Qian family, they ordered that it be dug into a canal and named it Xinyang. This channel can

be used to direct the flow of waters out into the Song River, or it can be used to bring in river waters to irrigate the fields.

FASCICLE 3

Controlling the Waters

The World Tilts toward the Southeast, and the lands of Wu are located in the lowest spots in the southeast, so it is only too appropriate that it is a very watery region. In the past, when Yu controlled the floods, in order that the land could be drained, he dredged separate channels and created the Three Rivers; in order that the land could accumulate the proper [quantities of water], he dammed it and created the Five Lakes. Then the water level was stabilized, thanks to [the labors of] Yu. How could it not be [the abode of] watery creatures? Since the old course of two [of the three] rivers has been destroyed, the Five Lakes [now] receive much more water, as a result of which a hundred valleys have been inundated with this massive flow, which all runs out into the one river at Songling, so these lands cannot escape the disaster of flooding. You can see how much the people of the past thought about this problem, for that is why they used embankments to move the waters, and they used canals to maintain an even level of water, and they used dikes to control the waters, and they used reservoirs to store water. Thus if there was a flood, they could drain it away, or if there was a drought, they could bring water in. That is how the people of Wu have been able to survive here. Any vestigial information about how former generations managed [the waters] is rarely to be seen in the official histories. In the middle of the Kaiyuan reign era of the Tang dynasty, they opened the Changshu Embankment, and the ancient stone tablet still survives that speaks of the benefits of irrigation and names the prefect of the commandery as being a member of the Li clan—his name is not recorded—and the investigation commissioner as being of the Han family, Han Gao, who in the third year of the Yonghe reign era was appointed surveillance commissioner of Zhexi. In the time of the Qian family, they tried appointing commissioners for the waterways and commissioners for agriculture to take charge of problems with water conservancy, and they summoned soldiers to form units that became known as the Silt Diggers. But at around the same time, [the government] wanted to enrich the border regions in order to guard against the enemy, and this naturally took first priority. During the Tianxi [1017–1021] and Tiansheng reign

eras [103–1031] of this present dynasty, Central Wu suffered much flooding, and so [the emperor] commanded Transport Commissioner Zhang Lun and the prefect of this commandery to open drainage channels in Kunshan and Changshu, in order to draw off excess water.¹⁹⁸

Fan Wenzheng came to take office in this region in the middle of the Jingyou reign era, a man well suited to dealing with [the problems encountered in] famine years who was well versed in profit and loss and who was never careless with the projects that he undertook. [Fan Wenzheng] pointed out that the Song River cannot drain off all the excess water from the Trembling Marsh and the other lakes even though it touched the Yangzi to the north and drained into the ocean in the east. Even though there were many [auxiliary] canals and waterways, they had been silted up long ago and so could not take any part of this load. What was now needed was a network of canals running through the region, entering the Song River in the southeast and entering the Yangzi and the sea to the northeast. Then he went in person [to inspect] the drainage channels leading to the sea and opened up five canals by dredging. I have asked old people about this, and they say that [these canals] were like the Qian Canal. At this time, those who spoke of this wanted to ruin his efforts. Some said that the waters of the Yangzi River were already so massive that they could not be controlled within these outflows; some wondered how the water could flow out every day when the tide came in. Some said that since sand came in with the tide, these canals would be silted up again within a few years; some said that the work of dredging was a heavy burden on the people's labor. [Fan Wenzheng] pointed out that both the rivers and the sea are good at flowing downward, which is why [water] is the king of the hundred valleys, and wouldn't this [natural law] also operate here? Hence those who said "The waters of the Yangzi River were already so massive that they could not be controlled within these outflows" were wrong. As for the tides, each day there are neaps and springs, and if you divide the time the tide takes into three parts, the neaps occupy two. If you take advantage of the neap tides to take [excess water] away, couldn't the situation be controlled? Hence those who wondered "How could the water flow out every day when the tide came in?" were wrong. As for the new canals, they would have to build sluices on them and clear them at regular intervals so that the sand would not build up. If [the sands] were piled up away from the sluices every spring, the labor required would be several times less [than for dredging]. What disaster could happen then? Hence those who said: "Since sand came in with the tide, these canals would be silted up again within a

few years” were wrong. In the southeast the only crop in cultivation was paddy rice, in which case a large amount of water was necessary, and until the autumn there was nothing else that [the farmers] wanted. If one could build a network of irrigating waterways, this should obviate famine among the people. It should also be possible to carry out this labor during the fallow season, so even though it was a lot of work, people would not resent it. Hence those who said: “The work of dredging was a heavy burden on the people’s labor” were wrong. Then his arguments beat down these baseless criticisms, and water was collected in this network of canals, and people right up to the present day have benefited from this.

Coiled Dragon Concourse [Panlonghui] runs between Huating and Kunshan. [Before it was constructed,] if you went as the crow flies, it would be about 10 *li* [5.6 km] long, but since [the river] curled around, it was more like 40 *li* [22.4 km] long and a serious obstacle to the flow of water. If great rains fell in summer, then it would flood, inundating crops and ruining houses, resulting in a poor harvest. Fan [Wenzheng] once visited this place, but he had not yet developed a plan to deal with it. In the first year of the Baoyuan reign era [1038], Grand Scribe Ye [Daoqing] was in charge of transportation along this route, and he then suggested the construction of a new canal as a diversion, which would run straight, thus allowing the water to flow at a faster speed, and disaster could then be avoided.¹⁹⁹ After this, the transport commissioner [for the Grand Canal] Shen Lizhi reopened the Gu drainage canal at Kunshan, after work was carried out to dredge it. [Fourteen characters missing in the original] encompassing Lake Yangcheng and debouching into the Song River to the south. In antiquity, this was called the “Kunshan Embankment,” but the dikes and breakwaters did not hold, having been battered by winds and waves, and so it ruined the people’s fields and prevented the passage of boats, and bandits and salt smugglers roamed around it, and the officials were not able to prevent this. After the Tang dynasty, people wanted to restore it, but nothing happened. In the middle of the Huangyou reign era [1049–1053], Chancellor Wang [Anshi], in his capacity as controller-general of Shuzhou, received an imperial edict to come and investigate the problems of water management, and Lord Jing and the county officials then traveled around by boat looking into [the situation], questioning the local people, and drawing a map [to present to the emperor]. In the middle of the Zhihe reign era [1054–1055], Zhu Buli of Kunshan and Lü Jujian, Prefect of Quanbai Commandery and Chamberlain for Attendants, decided that it would be most advantageous to create an embankment, and Lord Lü

then did so. He then collected a labor force to carry out this corvée work, and first they built the outer breakwater in order to curb the upper flow, then they built dikes across in order to constrain [the waters], and then the lower course was dredged so that [all the waters] would flow that way. When completed, this was named the Zhihe Embankment. In the middle of the Jiayou reign era [1056–1063], the people of Wu suffered repeated famines, and the court selected prefects and generals to deal with this matter, and Cai Kang of Qinzhou took control of this commandery, [having previously held office] as a subeditor [in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies].²⁰⁰ He then requested permission to travel to [the affected] counties and deal with the problems caused by the waters, having personally investigated their powers. At this time, Li Fugui from the Ministry of War was the transport commissioner, and Han Zhengyan from Palace Administration was in charge of Kunshan, and they carried out a major restoration of the Zhihe Embankment, making it much thicker than before.²⁰¹ The people were then able to build additional high paths between their fields and dikes, thus avoiding the dangers of flooding. Master Han also opened the White Crane Concourse [Baihehui] on the Song River on the same principles as the Coiled Dragon Concourse; this was all done for the benefit of the people. Transport Commissioner Wang Chunchen suggested that the raised paths between fields in Su[zhou], Hu, Chang[shu], and Xiu[zhou] should be restored so that they would form a network that could prevent flooding during storms; he also ordered that the magistrates instruct agricultural families to build raised paths for themselves and instructed local officials to set up classes in which they acted as instructors. This was all put into effect throughout the region at that time. After this, a great many more people became conversant in water management.

The Confucian scholar Fu Gong wanted to get rid of the levees on the Song River and Jincheng Concourses in order to clear stagnant water by through-flow; he also wanted to create five dikes in Wuxi [County] in order to reduce the water level in Lake Tai and sent [the excess] out through the northern branch of the Yangzi delta. [He wanted to] divert the Luli drainage canal in Haiyan [County] in order to divide the course of the Wusong [River] and let it debouch into the Zhe [River]. In the two counties of Kunshan and Changshu, [he wanted to] dig a deep drainage channel so that if the wind came from the south or the east, then the waters would move north into the Yangzi, while if the winds came from the north or the west, they would flow south into the Wusong [River], thus preventing all catastrophe. He also

ordered families with landholdings to set aside a certain area based on the size of their plots that would be dug out to form a reservoir.

The Chamberlain for the National Treasury, Jia Dan [1038–1103], requested permission to build embankments and reservoirs for all the so-called high fields east of Kunshan and north of Changshu [Counties], so that they could be watered, and also to dredge their channels to allow the waters to circulate freely among [these fields] in order to irrigate them; and since he would establish sluices for preventing [these waterways] from becoming blocked, the high fields would not dry out and the paddy fields would also lose less of their water. After that, he would also get rid of all of what we today call “paddy fields,” except for those in the Four Lakes region, including private family irrigation canals and private family waterways.²⁰² He would follow ancient practice and put in a horizontal drainage canal every 5 to 7 *li* [3–4 km], and then every 7 to 10 *li* [4–6 km], he would put in a vertical embankment. The earth taken out of the drainage channels would be used to make the dikes, and he would make the channels very wide and deep and the dikes very high and thick so that the water could do no damage and would be directed out into the Yangzi River. Jia [Dan] went to Su[zhou] upon receipt of the imperial edict and set about addressing this matter, but the plan was far too ambitious and the workload far too heavy, so it could not possibly be accomplished. However, the court appointed officials in charge of agriculture and irrigation to take sole responsibility for carrying this out, and there are many vestiges of the canals and waterways they dredged, the dikes they built, and the irrigation channels they connected up, which we can see as signs of their labor.²⁰³

After the Drought at the End of the Xining Reign Era [1068–1077], there were poor harvests for many years, and then the work fell into abeyance. Since we cannot escape from the cycle of flood and drought, those who lead the people must not slacken their efforts at preventing [disaster]. I once heard it said that at the seaside where the mountains and hills meet, what is commonly called the *gengshen*, is where the heavens end and it all belongs to the people of Wu. Even though there are canals and drainage works, silt accumulates every day with the tide, and as time goes on, the flow becomes blocked, which must be resolved. Those who control the waters dredge the bottoms [of these waterways], and when the lower levels of the waterways are flowing unencumbered, then the upper levels become passable. Fan Wenzheng once wrote in a letter to someone: “Heaven creates marshlands where much water accumulates, so when there is unseasonal rainfall, you cannot

avoid flooding. The land at the riverbanks and seashore lies somewhat higher [than the water level], so even though there may be many waterways, they will always flow downward. Providing that nothing blocks them, it is easy to reduce the damage they can cause. If their channels are deepened, there [will be no problem] when the tides come in. Likewise, in times of prolonged drought, they can irrigate the fields of ten thousand households. This is the reason [waterways] are beneficial in times of both flood and drought.” These are the words of a wise man. Fan [Wenzheng’s] meritorious deeds did not happen a long time ago, so is it not a good thing that we can still look for evidence of his work and continue his labors? As for the multitude of opinions [that have been put forward on the subject of water conservancy], each is recorded here so that the most applicable can be selected and then put into practice, which is also a good thing. This matter was begun by our ancestors and ruined by later generations, yet the remnants [of our waterways] that have come down to us from earlier generations can now be restored. That which our ancestors began should not be allowed to be ruined, and that which has come down to us from earlier generations should be restored. And if this is done, then what great things can we not accomplish? What disasters can we not prevent?

Ancient Remains

Long Island Gardens [Changzhouyuan] is the name of an ancient Wu garden, located within the commandery’s borders. In the past, Mei Cheng remonstrated with the king of Wu, saying that the Han dynasty “built the Shanglin [Park] and created a traveling palace there, which they stuffed with every kind of toy and stocked with wild birds and beasts, and yet it could never be as good as the Long Island Gardens. As for traveling to Crooked Tower Palace [Qutai Gong] and gazing down upon the Great Highway, these cannot equal the Morning and Evening Pool.”²⁰⁴ The “Wu Capital Rhapsody” also says:

[Gusu Tower] is encircled by the deep waters of the Morning and Evening Pool
And girdled by the luxuriant gardens of Long Island.²⁰⁵

The commentary explains that the Morning and Evening Pool is so called because the tidal waters fill it in the morning and empty it in the evening, hence the name. Yu Xin’s “Rhapsody in Mourning for Jiangnan” says:

A series of beautiful gardens runs along the seashore,
Stretched across the embankments beside the waterways.²⁰⁶

There are many more references to this place.

The City Walls of Helü[’s Capital] are now the walls of the commandery. There is an ancient tradition that when Zixu brought his army home after attacking Chu, he selected earth from Danyang and Huangdu to build [these walls] because he thought that would be beneficial for their solidity. The form of the commandery walls is like the character *ya*. In the third year of the Qianfu reign era of the Tang dynasty [876], the censor Zhang Fu repaired these walls. In the middle of the Longde reign era of the Liang dynasty [921–923], the Qian family added a facing of brick.²⁰⁷

The Heavenly Gate also has the old name Changhe Gate, and it was already extant in the time of King Helü of Wu. Some say that it was designed by Lu Jiangban, with high towers and multilane roads. Later, it was from this gate that the Wu army set out to attack Chu, and so they changed the name to Destruction of Chu Gate [Po Chumen]. When Wu belonged to Chu, they restored the name Heavenly Gate.

The White Gate [Baimen] of the Wu citadel was probably built by King Helü. In the time of the First Emperor of China, an official in charge of the palace was burning swallows’ nests and lost control of the situation, setting fire to the whole palace. This building, however, survived.

Yu Walled City is located below Mount Heng west of Wu County, and the ruins of the foundations are still extant. It probably [dates to the time when] the kings of Wu controlled the lands of Yue, and so it is appropriate to consider it a Wu walled city. The name Yu Walled City is a mistake.²⁰⁸ It is located beside Mount Heng, and the line of the mountain ridges is like the shape of inner and outer city walls; to the present day, it is a forbidding place. There is also an Archery Tower [Shetai] here, which again is located at Mount Heng.

Stone Walled City is located northeast of Wu County. In the past, this was a traveling palace, and the king of Yue presented Lady Xi [to the king of Wu] here. On this mountain there is a stone horse, and when you look at it from a distance, it appears to have a person riding it.

Flower Pond, Flowering Forest Garden, and Southern Fortress Palace [Nancheng Gong] are all traditionally said to have been located within the borders of Changzhou, and they are ancient remains left by King Helü. There is also Flowing Cup Pavilion, which is located 200 *bu* [314 m] west of

Girl's Tomb Lake, which is also said to have been a place where he enjoyed himself. There is also the Wu Palace District, according to Lu [Guimeng], this was located 50 *li* [28 km] southeast of Long Island Garden, and it was probably a traveling palace favored by King Fuchai, hence the name. [Lu Guimeng] composed "Poem Inquiring about Wu Palace" [Wen Wu Gong ci].²⁰⁹ This poem is found in the *Comprehensive Anthology*.

The Sanmao [River] is located within the borders of Huating [County]. [Lu Guimeng] wrote a poem that reads: "In the cold waves of the Sanmao, the fisherman's fly twitches."²¹⁰ That is a reference to this place.

Dongting has many ancient remains from the time of the kingdom of Wu. The so-called Training Canal [Liandu] was a site where soldiers were trained. [Zuo's] *Tradition* says: "Yue defeated Wu at Fujiao."²¹¹ Fujiao is now known as Mount Bao. The place on the lakeside where the waters run most pure was Escaping the Summer Bay [Xiaoxiawan], which was a place where the kings of Wu traveled for pleasure.

The Wastes of Chicken Bank were where chickens were raised. Pig Alley was where pigs were raised. Running Dog Embankment was where they went hunting. These are all ancient remains belonging to the Wu royal family, and they are all located within the borders of the commandery. There are also the Five Rong-Trees [Wurong], each of which has its own name, where the kings of Wu went hunting. Lu [Guimeng] wrote a poem that runs: "Bird lures are set in the spring grasses at Wurong."²¹² That is a reference to this place.

Likou is located on the edge of Changzhou, and it is also called "[Fan] Li's Embankment." In the past, when Fan Li sailed his boat out onto the Five Lakes, he probably passed by this place.²¹³

Xukou is located 12 *li* [6.7 km] northwest of Mount Gusu, and it takes its name from Mount Xu.²¹⁴

Platform Embankment is located 35 *li* [19.6 km] southeast of Wu County, beside the Yangzi River. In the twelfth year of the reign of King Fuchai, he killed [Wu] Zixu and threw the body into the river, where it floated along inside a leather sack. Later, he regretted this, and ruler and people built an embankment overlooking the river, which was constructed to allow sacrifices to be held there, and eventually the local people established a temple at this site.²¹⁵ In the third year of the Yuanjia reign era of the Song dynasty [426], the magistrate of Wu moved the temple inside Artisan's Gate. According to one account, the Wine Walled City [Jiucheng] is next to the Platform Embankment, and this was where Fuchai poured libations of wine in sacrifice to Zixu, hence the name.

Xushi is located 25 *li* [14 km] west of the commandery. The *Illustrated Guide* says: “The First Emperor of Qin wanted to obtain the swords of the king of Wu, but a white tiger knelt above his tomb, and then it ran 25 *li* [14 km] before disappearing. He could not obtain the swords, for the ground split to form a pond. Accordingly, they named this place Tiger Field.” That is probably this place. There was a taboo during the Tang dynasty on the character for “tiger,” and the Qian family had a taboo on the character for “field”; therefore they changed the name to Xushi.

Xuping Township is located on the border of Wu County. At the beginning of the Han dynasty, there was a certain Lu Lie, style name Boyuan, who became the magistrate of Wu and then Defender of Yuzhang [Commandery]. When he died, the people of Wu missed him, and so they were deeply pleased that he was buried at Xuting. His sons and grandsons then became residents of Wu County, and the Lu family of Wu Commandery is descended from him.

Yuan Songshan Fortress is located beside Hu Canal, whereby it is washed by the waves, and half of it has already crumbled into the water. Thirty *li* [16.8 km] east of Yuan Songshan Fortress there is another pair of fortresses facing each other on opposite sides of the river, and they were built by King Helü in order to control the lands of Yue. People in the past were very concerned about communication with the sea, and so they were determined to prevent this.²¹⁶

Death Township Bay [Sitingwan] is located 7 *li* [3.9 km] beyond Heavenly Gate. There is an ancient tradition that the wife of Prefect Zhu [Maichen] was so ashamed that she committed suicide here.

The New City is located below Mount Heng west of Wu County. Although the Sui dynasty had conquered the Chen dynasty, the region south of the Yangzi had not yet submitted to its authority, and there were many bandits and rebels that had gathered there. Emperor Wen of the Sui dynasty appointed Yang Su commander in chief of the army, with orders to punish them, and he then attacked Suzhou, moving the commandery seat to Mount Heng. The purpose of all this was to empty the old city. These new city walls are the ruins left behind from that time. Some people say that the King of Yue’s Walled City [Yuewangcheng] was also located here, in which case this land was also under the control of the ruling houses of Wu and Yue. Originally, when Yang Su moved the city to Mount Heng, his carpenters made the supporting beams for the city gates out of oak, and when [Yang] Su saw this, he said to the carpenter: “I am afraid that this wood is not very strong.

How many years will it hold out?" The carpenter said: "It will last about forty years." Su said: "That is enough. This city will be abandoned within forty years' time." In the middle of the Zhengguan reign era of the Tang dynasty, the city returned to its old site, just as he had said.²¹⁷

Lotus Embankment is described in the *Record of Universal Geography [of the Taiping Reign Era]* as follows: "Twelve *li* [6.7 km] west of Wu County there are fields stretching for several *mu* where lotus flowers are grown. They are very beautiful and have many petals."²¹⁸

Looking Out Over the Market Gazebo is mentioned in the poem by Yuan Weizhi [779–831] titled "On Seeing Off [Bai] Letian [Bai Juyi]":

Can you still see the boats breasting the waves?
Are parties still held at the Looking Out Over the Market Gazebo?

The commentary says: "Looking Out Over the Market Gazebo was a famous sight in Su[zhou]."²¹⁹ Today the Observing the Winds Gazebo stands near the marketplace, so perhaps it was here.

The Cassia Tree in the eastern part of the city [of Suzhou] was described by Bai [Juyi]:

The eastern part of Su[zhou]
Contains the city walls of the Wu capital;
Now it is the abode of charcoal burners and herdsmen.
A single cassia tree
Grows below the city walls;
How sad that it has not found a better place.²²⁰

His poem can be found in the *Comprehensive Anthology*.

Wang Township is located on the western boundary of Wu County. It was established by the former rulers of Wu, who called it the Royal Township. In the ninth year of the Kaihuang reign era of the Sui dynasty, a postal relay station was established here, and Li Xiyu, the Tang dynasty censor of Changzhou, gave it its present name.²²¹ There is a poem by Liu Yuxi that reads: "My old hometown at Royal Township in Wu."²²² That is a reference to this.

Liu Yi's Spring is recorded in detail in the *Illustrated Guide*. This spring is located on the banks of Lake Tai, but even great storms cannot make it turbid, nor does it run dry in a drought. That is why it is strange.

Hu Canal runs from the Song River east to the sea. Lu Guimeng in his list of tools for fishing says: “Bamboos that grow along the seashore are called *hu*.”²²³ It probably derives its name from this. Today beside this canal there is the Green Dragon Garrison, but no one knows the reason for this name. When I asked the old inhabitants, some of them said it took its name from a boat. According to Yu Xin’s “Rhapsody in Mourning for Jiangnan”: “He drew up his Green Dragon war boats.”²²⁴ The *History of the Southern Dynasties* says: When Yang Su attacked Chen, he directed his navy toward the Three Gorges. The Chen general Qi Xin had more than one hundred Green Dragon war boats with soldiers waiting at Langwei Canal. Yang Su personally commanded ten Yellow Dragon war boats to move silently against them—then he launched his attack and defeated them.²²⁵ Green Dragon would then be the name of a war boat. Some people say that these Green Dragon boats were built by Sun Quan and that in the past he would build them here, hence the name.

The Royal Swords in the time of the kings of Wu were called “Gan Jiang” and “Mo Ye,” the royal armor was called “Shuixi,” and the royal boat was called “Yuhuang.” Gan Jiang was also the name of a swordsmith. Mo Ye was Gan Jiang’s wife. To begin with, when Gan Jiang created his swords, he selected the finest iron from five mountains and the purest bronze from the four corners of the earth; he investigated the astrological signs in the heavens and accorded with the signs of the earth. But although yin and yang were in harmony, the hundred spirits were in observance and the Heavenly Essence descended, and the iron and bronze would not melt. Mo Ye then said: “The transformation of things can be achieved only by human intervention. Today my husband wants to make swords. Surely this can be accomplished only after people have become involved?” Gan Jiang’s wife then cut her hair and her nails and threw them into the furnace, and she ordered three hundred young boys and girls to work the bellows and heap up charcoal, and the copper and iron then smelted so that he could make his swords. The yang sword was named Gan Jiang, and the yin sword was named Mo Ye. The yang sword was patterned like the back of a turtle, while the yin sword was figured with constellations. Gan Jiang concealed the yang sword and took out the yin [sword] and presented it to Helü, who esteemed it greatly. As for Shuixi, beyond our borders there are mountain buffalo and water buffalo. The skin of water buffalo has a kind of round plating that mountain buffalo lack; hence the people of Wu used water buffalo hide to make armor. Yuhuang was a great boat. When Goujian sailed up the river and made a

surprise attack on Wu, entering their outer defenses, burning Gusu [Tower], and sailing away their great boat, it refers to this.²²⁶

Rich Wine Township [Dajiuxiang] used to be known as Yellow Earth District [Huangtuqu]. In the Tang dynasty, there was a rich man who built a great mansion there, planting flowers and dredging a lake, building the Lakeside Kiosk and Windblown Pavilion. He brewed a fine wine to serve his guests, which was very expensive. That is why it is called Rich Wine Township.

Houses and Gardens

The Residence of Wu Zixu has traditionally been said to have been located beside Xu Gate. Zixu remonstrated with the king of Wu, but the king would not listen, and he sent Zixu to Qi. Zixu entrusted his son to the Bao family of Qi, and when he returned, he reported this to the king of Wu. When the king of Wu heard this, he was angry and bestowed [the sword] Zhulu [upon him to commit suicide with it]. Zixu said: “When I die, you must pluck out my eyes and hang them above the east gate of Wu, that I may see the entry of the Yue army.”²²⁷

Yan Yan's Residence is located northwest of Changshu County. In this building there is a well that is 3 *chi* [94 cm] across and 10 *zhang* [31 m] deep. Beside the well there is a platform, and 100 *bu* [157 m] north of the platform there is the Silk-Washing Rock, which is 4 *zhang* [12.4 m] square. In the county there is Yan Yan's Bridge, which probably takes its name from this place. Ziyou took his place among the Sage's disciples thanks to his learning, and the people of Wu are deeply interested in Confucianism, so this is only appropriate.

Long Sword Alley is also known as Sword Dance Alley and is located 2 *li* [1.1 km] northeast of Wu County. The residence of Feng Nuan was located in this alley.²²⁸ [Feng] Nuan was the client of Lord Mengchang of Qi, who danced with his long sword and sang outside the gates. He burned the promissory notes in order to create a glorious reputation for Lord Mengchang, and he persuaded the king of Qi to restore his office as prime minister; thus his excellent reputation is well deserved. Tang dynasty people said that the carved stele still survived beside the tomb. Ancient traditions say that there were more than three hundred alleys inside the outer city walls, but the names of all of them have been lost, which is very sad!

Yulin Rock belongs to the Lu family. Before this, Lu Ji served the Wu dynasty as prefect of Yulin, and having finished his term of office, he went

home without any of his luggage, as a result of which the boat was too light to cross the seas, and so he selected a massive rock to act as ballast. When he arrived at Gusu, he placed it by his gate and named it Yulin Rock. For generations it has been preserved at his residence. The history of the Tang dynasty records this.²²⁹

Wang Xun, Duke Mu of Tingxian of the Eastern Jin dynasty, and his younger brother Wang Min had a home outside the city walls at Tiger Hill and one inside the city walls at Baihua Village. Later, both residences were given to the Buddhist Church to become temples. Their homes were known in the past as the Eastern and Western Temples at Tiger Hill and what is now Jingde Temple. Jingde Temple used to be called “Tiger Hill Mansion.” The *History of the Jin Dynasty* says: “The administrator of Wu, Wang Xun, had a suburban villa at Tiger Hill, and Dai Kui visited him there in secret and spent several weeks wandering around the place with Wang Xun. Later, when [Wang] Xun became vice director of the Imperial Secretariat, he sent a memorial to the emperor recommending [Dai] Kui for chancellor of the National University.”²³⁰ [Dai] Kui’s reputation was then even more illustrious.

Gu Pijiang’s Garden.²³¹ When Wang Xianzhi [344–386] arrived in Kuaiji, he entered the gates of Wu, but he did not at that time know the master [of this garden]. It so happened that [Gu] Pijiang had invited his clients and friends for a banquet in the garden, and when [Wang] Xianzhi had finished wandering around, he pointed out the good aspects and the bad as if there were no one else present. [Gu] Pijiang suddenly said: “There is no need to say more, you barbarian!” Then he forced his entourage out of the gate. [Wang] Xianzhi was left alone sitting in his sedan-chair, turning his head from side to side and looking out into the distance, but his servants did not come back. In the end, [Gu Pijiang] had him moved.²³² This demonstrates [Wang] Xianzhi’s carefree nature and [Gu] Pijiang’s narrow-mindedness. [Gu] Pijiang’s garden was still extant in the Tang dynasty, for Gu Kuang was able to borrow it for a time and live there.²³³ The commandery governor presented him with a poem reading:

[Gu] Pijiang lived in the time of the Eastern Jin;
His bamboos and trees formed a famous garden.
Over the years it has had many different owners;
Now these lands have returned to his descendants.²³⁴

Today no one knows its precise location.

Dai Yong's House is traditionally said to have been located at what is now Northern Chan Buddhist Temple. [Dai] Yong's father, Kui, had the style name Zhongruo, and he once traveled through Wu and then took the epithet Adept of Wu.²³⁵ [Dai] Yong lived at Shanxia, but he regularly traveled to Tong Hamlet. Tong Hamlet was poor and remote, which made it difficult to look after anyone who was ill, and so he left and went to live in southern Wu. The local people built a house for him, collecting stones and diverting the waters, planting trees and opening up a stream. After a short time it all grew so luxuriously that it seemed entirely natural. The generals, prefects, and other senior officials stationed in Wu all wanted to visit the marshes and wilds with him, but he went only if he wanted to. However, he never appeared arrogant or difficult.²³⁶ There are many accounts of this.

Lu Guimeng's House was located at Fu Village above the Song River. He was a descendant in the seventh generation of the Tang prime minister [Lu] Yuanfang [639–701], and when he was a child, he lived at Lindun Village, though he later went farther away to live in deeper reclusion. He moved to live beside Lake Tai and accorded himself the epithet Master of Fu Village. He had several *mu* of land and a house of thirty frames. His fields you could cross in less than 100,000 footsteps, his cattle had fewer than forty hooves, while his plowboys had less than one hundred fingers. His fields were very low-lying, and after one day's violent rain, they were indistinguishable from a river. The master would then suffer from hunger, for his storehouse did not have so much as a *dou* or a *sheng* of grain left in it. He would then bend his back and pull the plow himself, leading his plowboys on to complete the work.²³⁷ Later, when men of unusual talents were summoned [to court], he did not go. Li Wei [d. 879], Lu Xiesu, and [Lu] Guimeng were all good friends, and when they took charge of the government, they had him appointed Remonstrance Official of the Left. When they summoned him to take office, [Lu] Guimeng was dead. The foundations of the house in which he lived are still extant.²³⁸

The House of Ren Hui is mentioned in the poetry of Pi [Rixiu] and Lu [Guimeng], for he lived deep in the forest beside a curved pool, in a dark house perched among precipitous rocks. Master Ren gave up his job as the district defender of Jing and came back home to live here. [Lu Guimeng]'s poem reads:

Pijiang's Garden in Wu

Since ancient times has surpassed all other contenders.

First we heard of the splendid bamboos;
Later, people spoke of the magnificent rocks.
How sad that this landscape lacks a master
And has for almost six hundred years.
This garden is visited only by travelers.
Who can we ask about the relics of the past?
They do not know that a beautiful landscape still survives,
And it all belongs to Master Ren.²³⁹

According to this, it was almost [as fine as] Pijiang's Garden!

The Secondary Residence of [Qian] Yuanliao, King of Guangling, in antiquity stood in the vicinity of the Southern Garden. According to the *Gazetteer of Nine Kingdoms* [Jiuguo zhi], after [Qian] Yuanliao took control of Suzhou, he became interested in gardens and water features, flowers and trees, and so he created the Southern Garden, the Eastern Abode, and various other residences, which were filled with unusual blooms and rare trees, tens of thousands of famous varieties. Today their sites are largely given over to housing, but some of the lofty peaks and limpid pools, lush forests and precious trees have managed to survive.

The Community House of Fan Wenzheng is located beside Puji Bridge. The architecture of this house is very ancient, the Western Study being already more than a century old, and two pine trees have been planted opposite each other, separated by a belvedere. From a very early age, [Fan] Wenzheng was brought up in the north, and when he returned to Wu, he ordered that this study be named Integrity Hall, that the pine trees be named Gentleman Trees, and that the belvedere be named Pine Wind Belvedere. He composed these three names in order to admonish the senior and junior members of his family.²⁴⁰ Later, he turned his residence into a community house so that his clan could live there from one generation to the next. When he became rich, he also bought fields known to produce a regular annual harvest in the village, which were called "Community Fields," and he used them to look after the needs of his clan, so that the members of his clan would have something to eat every day and a new set of clothes every year and so that there would be savings for both weddings and funerals. He selected a senior and capable member of the family to take charge of his plan, who was also responsible for setting the dates for collections and disbursements. Clan members received one *sheng* of rice per day and one set of silk clothes a year. A family marrying off a daughter

received fifty thousand cash, a man marrying a wife received twenty thousand cash, and for a second marriage or when burying a family member, they got less. The master's son is well known at court, and even though he had not yet been able to go home to Wu right up to the present day, he has been able to preserve his family principles and achieve his ambitions without them falling into abeyance. Those clan members with official jobs receive enough to ensure that they have no reason to take bribes; those clan members without official jobs receive enough to survive.²⁴¹ This is something unknown in antiquity, and yet [Fan] Wenzheng achieved it. He really was a model for a hundred generations. The poems of Fan Wenzheng can be found in the *Comprehensive Anthology*.

Su[Shunqin]'s Blue Wave Pavilion [Canglangting] is located east of the commandery academy.²⁴² [Su] Zimei [i.e., Su Shunqin] was dismissed from office because he got into trouble, and then he traveled south to Wu. One day when he was passing the commandery academy, to the east he noticed a splendid garden, with lofty hills and wide-spreading waters that united to become a canal threading through lush flowers and dense clumps of bamboo. Moving on a couple of hundred paces, he came across some abandoned ground, which had been the lakeside residence of Sun Chengyou, the military commissioner of Central Wu, a most magnificent site where the ruins of the foundations were still to be seen. [Su Shunqin] bought this land and built a house there, which he named Blue Wave Pavilion, with bamboos behind it and water in front, and on the other side of the water the bamboo forests seemed to go on forever.²⁴³ Many gentlemen composed poetry about it.²⁴⁴ [Su Shunqin] once said that the teas and wines of Central Wu would always stop him from feeling depressed and that the [Song River] perch and crabs from the paddy fields always pleased his palate, in addition to which there were many brilliant monks and reclusive gentlemen [to become acquainted with], the Buddhist [monasteries] and temples were very fine, and at home he had a garden full of rare flowers and magnificent rocks, with a curved pool and a high tower, where there were many fish and birds, and so he would not notice the passing of time. Thus in the end he never left.²⁴⁵

The Residence of Cheng Zhengyi was located beside the Southern Garden. When he was young, he was optimistic and ambitious, and thus when he passed this place with the two temples of Kaiyuan and Auspicious Light on the right and the Southern Garden on the left, he said: "This would be a good place for a house." Later, he became very successful, and then, having obtained this land, he performed a divination about building on it. The

prefect, Master Yan [Zhizhi], presented him with a poem on the subject that reads:

Even though many officials throng here, they are just temporary sojourners;
However, the remarkable owner of this great mansion could only have come
from my hometown.²⁴⁶

This means that although there were many officials living within the commandery, only [Cheng Zhengyi] really represented the true essence of a man of Wu. Master Yan also named this ward of the city Returning Home Dressed in Silk [Zhoujin] in commemoration of this.

The Residence of Yuan Wei, the former academician at the Hall for the Aide of Governance and the junior guardian of the heir apparent, is located east of Daicheng Bridge. Yuan [Wei] once held an important position in the central government, but growing old, he retired to his former home in this region. The prefect, Master Zhang [Hu], ordered that his house be named the Noble Official's Home.

The Former Garden of Happiness is located in Jixiang Village in Fenghuang Township. The high hills and limpid pools, the majestic pines and ancient cypresses, make it something of a beauty spot, but I live in reclusion here. I have given it the name Abode of Joy.²⁴⁷

Tombs

The Tomb of Wu Xian is located 3 *li* [1.7 km] northeast of Pacification Gate. Wu Xian was a wise minister in the time of Damao of the Shang dynasty. The [Book of] Documents says: "Yi Zhi spoke of [a portent] in exalted terms to Wu Xian, and [he then] composed 'Government by Xian' [Xianyi]." ²⁴⁸ The poem "Encountering Sorrow" says:

I heard that Wu Xian would descend in the evening,
So I waited with offerings of spiced rice-balls.²⁴⁹

The speaker believed that Wu Xian was a shaman in antiquity, and there is an old tradition that his tomb is located here, hence this record.²⁵⁰ The *Illustrated Guide* also says: "Mount Yu was the residence of Wu Xian." If this is correct, then [Wu] Xian must have lived in Wu. Pacification Gate is also known as Wu Gate because of this. In the time of King Shoumeng of Wu,

the Chu grandee Shengong Wuchen fled to Wu.²⁵¹ The *Illustrated Guide* says: “The tomb of Wuchen is located outside Artisan’s Gate.” That is something completely different.

The Tomb of Taibo. The *Imperial Anthology* [Huanglan] says: “It is located at Meili north of Wu County, 10 *li* [5.6 km] outside the city walls.”²⁵² Liu Zhao [of the Han dynasty] says: “The tomb of Taibo is located at Mount Huang east of Wuxi County; 10 *li* [5.6 km] from the grave there is an ancient residence where his well is still extant.”²⁵³ These two references obviously cannot refer to the same place. Today there is a place called “Meili” within the borders of both Wu County and Wuxi County, and it is impossible to know which one is the right one, so this will need further research.

The Tomb of Zhongyong. According to the *Record of Universal Geography of the Taiping Reign Era*: “Mount Yu in Changshu [County] has the tombs of Zhongyong and the lady from Qi; Zhongyong’s is the eastern one, and the lady from Qi’s is the western one.”²⁵⁴ Zhongyong’s virtue was fully comparable to that of Taibo, and so Confucius said: “Yu Zhong and Yi Yi lived in seclusion, but they spoke their minds; their persons were pure, and in retirement they preserved their integrity.”²⁵⁵ Ban Gu thought that Yu Zhong was Zhongyong. Crown Prince Zhaoming of the Liang dynasty wrote in “Stele Inscription for the Summoning Purity Monastery”: “I look into the distance toward Zhongyong, and his tall tomb mound is desolate and overgrown; beside him I can see the lady from Qi and her sad grave crumbling away.”²⁵⁶ This means that the site was still extant in the time of the Liang dynasty.

Girl’s Tomb Lake is located 6 *li* [3.4 km] northwest of Wu County. The *Spring and Autumn Annals of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yue* says that the youngest daughter of the king of Wu felt humiliated when her father gave her steamed fish to eat, and so she could not bear to live any longer and committed suicide.²⁵⁷ There is one account that says Fuchai’s youngest daughter was called Youyu and that she observed her father’s mistakes and worried about the danger in which the country found itself, and so she wanted to marry Han Chong, but her wishes bore no fruit, and thus she died of the pain. Fuchai was deeply upset by this, and so he buried her outside Chang Gate, inside a golden coffin and a bronze outer coffin. After the funeral, he performed a sacrifice for her, and thus his daughter metamorphosed and sang: “On the South Mountain there lives a bird; on the North Mountain are spread some nets. Since the bird flies high in the sky, what use are the nets? It is my ambition to follow my lord, but slanderous gossip has created many problems. Sadness and anger brought about a terrible illness, which caused

my body to return to the yellow earth.”²⁵⁸ In my opinion this poem also has a deeper meaning, and must have been composed when this woman was still alive. “On the South Mountain there lives a bird” refers to Yue. “On the North Mountain are spread some nets” speaks of trying to control Yue from afar. “Since the bird flies high in the sky” is King Goujian’s success. “What use are the nets?” refers to Fuchai’s inability to control Yue. “It is my ambition to follow my lord, but slanderous gossip has created many problems” speaks of the fact that even though she wanted to follow her father’s orders, there was nothing that could be done about his listening to slanderous gossip and ignoring loyal advice. As for her pain over the situation with Han Chong and her anger at the steamed fish, I am afraid that both are wrong. As for how the tomb became a lake, some say that the grave sank [into the water], and others say that they dug out earth to form the tomb mound, creating the lake.

The Tomb of the Lady from Qi is located at Mount Yu. She was married to the crown prince of Wu, but the lady from Qi was so sad and homesick that she became ill and eventually died. She said to the crown prince: “You must bury me on top of Mount Yu, for if the dead have awareness, then I could still look toward my old home country.” The king of Wu acceded to her wishes. *Mencius* says: “Lord Jing of Qi could not give orders, but he also could not accept commands, and so he cut himself off from human affairs. He cried when he had to send his daughter to Wu.”²⁵⁹ That is a reference to her.

The Tomb of King Liao of Wu is located beside Mount Zuo’e, 42 *li* [23.5 km] west of Wu County. Siyi Temple is located below the western slopes.

The Tomb of King Fuchai of Wu is located at Beiyong, at You Neighborhood in the Yuhang Mountains, 40 *li* [22.4 km] northwest of Wu County. This is now known as Mount Yang and is situated close to Lake Tai. When Fuchai made his stand at Mount Gusu, he fought a series of battles to the northwest and was defeated at Gansui. Fuchai then fell on his sword and died, and the king of Yue ordered his spearmen to each take a basket of earth and bury him at Beiyong in the Qinyuhang Mountains. Prime Minister Pi is buried next to him.

Yan Yan’s Tomb is located on top of Mount Yu, next to that of Zhongyong.

The Tomb of Liang Hong of the Han Dynasty is located 4 *li* [2.2 km] west of the county, north of the tomb of Yao Li. The *History of the Later Han Dynasty* says: “Liang Hong was styled Boluan, and he was a native of Pingling in Fufeng. He married Meng Guang, styled Deyao, of the same com-

mandery, and together they traveled to Wu, where they lived at the expense of Gao Botong. Hong closed his doors and wrote more than a dozen texts, and then when his illness took a turn for the worse, he told his master: 'In the past, Master Ji of Yanling buried his son between Ying and Bo. Please do not allow my son to take me back for burial!' When he died, Botong buried him beside the grave of Yao Li of the kingdom of Wu. Everyone said: 'Yao Li was a martyr, and Boluan was an honest adept, so it is appropriate to put them together.' When the funeral was over, his wife and son returned home to Fufeng." Lu Guimeng of the Tang dynasty said: "It is located 1 *li* [0.56 km] from Jinchang Neighborhood."²⁶⁰ The *Supplementary Gazetteer* [Xuzhi] says: "Today within the city walls south of Heavenly Gate there are two ancient tombs; according to legend, these are the graves of Yao Li and Liang Hong."²⁶¹ Jinchang Neighborhood was located inside the city walls, as can be proved by the *History of the Song Dynasty*.²⁶²

The Three Tombs of the Han Dynasty Censor for Yuzhou Sun Jian, his wife, Lady Wu, and the prefect of Kuaiji [Sun] Ce are all located 3 *li* [1.7 km] outside the Coiled Gate, as recorded in Lu Guangwei's Tang dynasty *Record of the Lands of Wu*. In front of the tombs there is a little canal, which is called the "Tomb Canal"; according to local traditions, this is where Sun Wang was buried. According to the *History of the Wu Dynasty*, [Sun] Jian died in the second year of the Chuping reign era at the age of thirty-seven. [Sun] Ce died in the fifth year of the Jian'an reign era at the age of twenty-six. Jian's wife, Lady Wu, died in the seventh year of the Jian'an reign era and was buried next to Jian.²⁶³ In the first year of the Huanglong reign era, [Sun] Quan elevated Jian's title to "Emperor Wulie, with the temple name Shizu, and thus his tomb became known as Gaoling; Lady Wu became Empress Wulie; and [Sun] Ce became King Huan of Changsha. On the first day of the eighth month of the first year of the Taiyuan reign era [31 August 376], a great storm knocked down the pine trees and cypresses on the Wu Gaoling tomb, and the stone stele fell over. According to *Autumn in Jinyang* [Jinyang qiu]: During the Yuankang reign era of Emperor Hui [291–299], the prefect of Wu, Xie Xunbiao of Hedong, established a community of five men to guard the tombs of the two lords of the Sun family, to protect and tend them, and an edict was given to this effect. Zhang Quan composed a text on this occasion, and it was incorporated into the *Selections of Refined Literature*.²⁶⁴ These are the great tombs outside the Coiled Gate. The Tang dynasty "Epitaph for Sun Delin" [Sun Delin muzhi] says: In the tenth year of the Kaiyuan reign era [723], he was buried beside his ancestor in the fourteenth generation, on the

flat ground southeast of the tomb of Emperor Wulie of the Wu dynasty. The *Supplementary Gazetteer* says: Wu Gang of the Wei dynasty established a temple to Sun Jian that is located northeast of the county seat, while the Sun Ce shrine is located south of the county.²⁶⁵

Zhang Han is buried 5 *li* [2.8 km] east of Mount Heng. Han was a man of Wu who saw the very earliest signs of change and acted accordingly, who had no ambitions beyond the simplest things, and who looked upon death as going home. He could be described as a knight of great distinction. Even though his tomb is lost, his name has been preserved.

The Tomb of Grand Elder of the Gu Family is located north of the embankment outside Lou Gate, and this is probably the grave of Gu Zong. Zong's style name was Wenwei, and he was a man of Wu who was recommended for office because of his exceptional abilities. He successively held the three senior offices of censor in chief, director of the Imperial Secretariat, and palace elder. Emperor Ming of the Han dynasty acted in accordance with the rituals laid down by the three dynasties [of Xia, Shang, and Zhou], and when, on the first day of the first month, [the emperor] went to Piyong [Hall], [Gu Zong] kept guard most strictly and instructed his majesty carefully. The chancellor during the Wu dynasty, [Gu] Yong, was his descendant.²⁶⁶ There is no biography of Gu Zong in the *History of the Eastern Han Dynasty* [Dong Hanshu], but his deeds are found in *Steles and Stone Inscriptions Found in Temples and Halls* [Miaoting beaming], collected by Gu Kuang, which says: "They hewed a stone by Lou Gate that his virtue and glory should never be forgotten."²⁶⁷ The stele here has since been lost.

Shi Weize is buried below the city walls of Wu. Weize's style name was Tianwen, and he was a man of Wu. He was a specialist in *bafen*, flying white, and seal-script calligraphy. In the middle of the Tang dynasty, he was recognized as one of the four great masters of the *bafen* style, together with Han Zemu, Cai Youlin, and Li Chao.²⁶⁸ He was first a Scholarly Worthy and then a Hanlin Academician before he died.

The Tomb of [Qian] Yuanliao, King of Guangling, is located at Mount Heng. Yuanliao's style name was Dehui, and he was the son of [King] Wusu, and the older brother of [King] Wenmu, and held the position of area commander of Central Wu. When [King] Wenmu succeeded to the throne, [Qian] Yuanliao came to pay court to him, and so he held a banquet in the palace for him and treated him with the rituals due a family member. [King] Wenmu raised his goblet and drank a toast, saying: "It really should be my older brother that occupies the throne of his late majesty. That I have been

able to reach such high office is in fact due to my older brother's efforts in pushing me forward." [Qian] Yuanliao prostrated himself and cried: "Your majesty is a great and good monarch, and his late majesty selected you to become the next ruler on the basis of your wisdom. Given that you are the ruler and I the subject, how could I dare to forget the demands of loyalty and obedience?" They looked at each other, moved to tears, drank happily and that was the end of the matter.²⁶⁹ When Yuanliao died, his son Wenfeng succeeded to his title as the area commander of Central Wu. He was deeply learned in the classics and histories as well as being very fond of collecting clients. He would go drinking with a crowd of other people and always rode on a white mule dressed in a crane-feather cape. He would go sailing on his pond, and everyone near and far would hear the sound of his clients and guests laughing and chatting as they enjoyed themselves drinking. He died in office and is also buried at Mount Heng.

The Tomb of Fan Wenzheng's Ancestor is located at the foot of the Tianping Mountains, and a shrine to his memory was established within the purview of White Cloud Hall [Baiyunyuan]. Every year at the Qingming festival there is a great reunion of his clan, at which the produce of the Community Fields are used as sacrificial offerings, this ceremony being performed right up to the present day. In recent generations many gentlemen have been buried within the borders of this commandery, but I do not know the particulars, and so I have not yet been able to record them properly.

Steles

The Stele at the Tomb of the Zhu Family is located west of Wu County beside Mount Qionglong. There is a popular tradition that this is the tomb of Zhu Maichen, but this is wrong. According to ancient records, Maichen's tomb is located within the borders of Jiaxing County and not here. There is a stele beside the tomb that has already been much damaged, but the characters can still be read: For sixteen generations and 419 years, [the Zhu family] has been resident at Xiapi; from the third year of the Pingshi reign era when they moved here to escape from disaster to the Renxu year in the Huichang reign era [842], 842 years have passed, during which time the family registration has been in Wu, and the name of Pi Village is derived from Xiapi.²⁷⁰ The ancestor of the Zhu family from Qingxu who first crossed the Yangzi River was [Zhu] something illegible, [who had been recommended to the court as] filial and incorrupt and who was then given an appointment as Gentleman

of the Interior. Promoted on the grounds of his abilities to be a Cultivated Talent, he was placed in charge of the headquarters of the general in chief and then appointed commissioner of Changshui. Something illegible. When the Han dynasty was on the verge of collapse and the world was in complete chaos, his lordship avoided all the lurking vipers and moved across the Yangzi River something illegible. Afterward, it seems to record the titles and official positions held by his descendants. By the time that people in the Tang dynasty investigated the ancestor of the Zhu family who crossed the Yangzi River, the characters carved in stone had already disappeared, and the lineage records had not been handed down, which is a great shame. According to the *Tang Treatises* [Tangzhi], the Zhu clan is descended from [Zhu] Yu, the metropolitan commandant during the Han dynasty, who was executed for participating in a political faction.²⁷¹ His sons and grandsons escaped from trouble by fleeing to Danyang, where they founded the Danyang Zhu family. There are still members of the Zhu family living in Danyang.

The Stele at the Temple to Lord Chunshen bears the calligraphy of Shi Weize. His calligraphy was also to be found on the stele at the temple to Taibo and the entrance of Massed Primordial Essence Temple, but these are no longer extant today.

The Inscription on the Heavenly Gate was written in seal-script by Li Yangbing [c. 714–c. 784], but this is no longer extant today.²⁷²

The Steles at Wu Hill on East Mountain [Dongshan] and at Longxing Monastery were both written in the calligraphy of Lu Jianzhi, but they have been lost.

The Stele at Linwu Cave at Numinous Light Monastery on Mount Bao was set up in the third year of the Kaiyuan reign era, and the stone has already crumbled. According to what has been recorded, in the time of Emperor Suzong of the Tang dynasty [r. 756–762], there was a censor who came from Runzhou who requested permission to become a Daoist master. There is another story that, having abandoned his position of power and handed over all his property to his family and friends, wearing grass sandals and grasping a staff made from a goosefoot [chenopodium] branch, he wandered through these mountains and hills until he arrived at this very mountain, and at the western entrance to the cave he established a Daoist monastery and built a chamber where he could cultivate the mysterious primordial essence [*xuanyuan*] and ultimate truth [*zhenrong*]. Now that the inscription on the stone is illegible, no one knows his name or surname. This inscription mentions a Master Mao and a Lord Tang; the recluse [who lived

here] was probably this Lord Tang. The text of this stele also records the matter of Zhou Xiyuan, saying: He stayed in the inner hall, and the emperor had an audience with him on many occasions to ask him about the Way and Virtue. He presented a letter of remonstrance, which later [made his imperial majesty] govern in an even more sagacious manner. Some parts of this text survive, but it cannot be known in its entirety. Alas! The purity achieved by such great masters is indeed difficult to attain, and it is only occasionally that one person is able to reach such a level. They also live far away in the mountains and marshes and do not maintain contact with ordinary people, so that it is only very rarely that their names are known to the royal court and the grandees. The things recorded on this stele are not mentioned in historical texts, but they can still be discovered from metal and stone. However, due to the fact that rubbings have been made many times [of this inscription], even though [the stele] still survives, we cannot obtain a complete [text from it].²⁷³ How sad!

The Text of the Stele at Requiring Kindness Temple in honor of the monk Huimin was written by Chen Jian, the commander of Taizhou, the calligraphy being provided by Yuan Xi [d. c. 839], the censor of Suzhou, but the characters are largely illegible. The text of the stele says: After [Huimin] was translated, they built a pagoda in the southeastern corner of the temple complex above the octagonal pond, and a word is missing here, which should be below the Aranyakah [Temple] on the central peak. What is here called the octagonal pond is the southern pool mentioned in the works of Pi [Rixiu] and Lu [Guimeng], but no trace of it remains today.

The Hymn of Praise on the Stele at the Pagoda of the Bhadanta Monk Yuanhao in the Tiantai [Mountains] was written by Cui Gong, the vice-governor of Taiyuan. Yuanhao's surname in secular life was Qin, and his style name was Guangcheng; he was a descendant in the sixth generation of Abbot Zhizhe and the disciple of the monk Jingxi. The Hanlin academician Liang Su [753–793], the censor of Suzhou Tian Dun, and Cui Gong himself all studied Buddhism under his aegis, and they built this pagoda on the southern plain at the east peak of Tiger Hill.

"The Record of Painted Dragons." The magistrate of Changzhou had in one of the side rooms of his office a painting of six dragons that is quite in the style of the monk Yao or Fuxing, but we do not know who actually created [these paintings]. It is certainly good enough to be by one of these two men. Li Shen [d. 846] of the Tang dynasty wrote a record of this matter, and the words were cut into a stele, which is still extant.²⁷⁴

The Stele at the Mountain Where Master Zhou Lived is located on [one of the] Dongting Mountains, and the text was written by the Tang dynasty censor of Huazhou Linghu Chu [766–837].²⁷⁵

Topics of Interest

Taibo three times refused to accept the world, and Master Ji of Yanling three times refused to accept the kingdom; that is why Confucius said: “Taibo achieved the ultimate virtue, and yet the people were not able to understand and acclaim him.”²⁷⁶ In the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, he wrote: “The monarch of Wu sent [Prince Ji]zha to come and pay court.”²⁷⁷ When [Prince Ji]zha died, he wrote on his tombstone: Alas, this is the grave of Master Ji of Yanling in Wu.²⁷⁸ This was because he believed him to be a wise man. The *Spring and Autumn Annals of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yue* says: “Gugong was ill and about to die, and he then ordered Jili to give the country to Taibo, but [Taibo] yielded three times and would not take it.”²⁷⁹ When Confucius speaks of yielding three times, it seems that this was no more than the truth. The *Book of Songs* says:

Only this youngest son of a royal house
Had true friendship in his heart.²⁸⁰

This celebrates the fact that Ji[li] had such a good relationship with Taibo that he wanted to give the country to him, and yet Taibo refused; these are not empty words.

King Shoumeng of Wu had four sons; the oldest was named Zhufan, the second Yuji, the third Yumei, and the youngest Jizha. Jizha was a clever man, and Shoumeng wanted to establish him, but Jizha was unwilling and refused, so Zhufan then took control of the government and ruled the country as regent. When the period of official mourning was over, he wanted to give the throne to Jizha, but [Jizha] again refused. The people of Wu insisted that he take the throne, so Jizha then abandoned his mansion and went out to plow the fields, at which point they decided to give up. When Zhufan died, the throne passed to his younger brother Yuji, and he in turn intended to pass it to his younger brother, so that in the end the kingdom would belong to Jizha, just as the late king intended. When Yuji died, his younger brother Yumei succeeded, and when Yumei died, he wanted the throne to go to Jizha, who ran away yet again; this was the third time that he refused the kingdom.

However, Taibo's refusal led to the rise of the Zhou dynasty, while Jizha's led to the destruction of the kingdom of Wu; this is an accidental result of the circumstances they faced. Their honor and merit were such that these deserve to be praised for ten thousand generations. Surely this is some compensation [for what they lost]? It is appropriate that sacrifices to the Wu [ruling house] have never ceased.

Confucius Climbed Mount Tai in the past and saw that white horses were going through the gate of Wu like a stream of silk. This story is a mistake that has been transmitted and an error that has become popular because it makes a good tale. Even though Confucius was the greatest of sages, and his vision and hearing were the same as other people's, Wu and Lu are at least several thousand *li* apart, so how could he see horses like a stream of silk? In the past, Wang Chong also criticized this in *Doctrines Weighed* [Lunheng].²⁸¹

At the Height of King Fuchai of Wu's Reign, the king of Yue and Fan Li went to Wu as vassals, or, according to some accounts, as prisoners. After about three years they were allowed to return home to Yue, and in creating their great plan and establishing hegemony, [Fan] Li's efforts were of the greatest importance. When King Goujian had destroyed Wu and was on his way back to the Five Lakes, Fan Li said to him: "Let me go, your majesty, for I do not want to go back to the kingdom of Yue." The king of Yue said: "I will divide my kingdom with you and then you can stay." Fan Li replied: "Your majesty puts rules into practice, while I carry out my ideas." Then he boarded a light skiff and sailed out onto the Five Lakes. The king ordered his metalworkers to use the finest bronze to make an image of Fan Li, which he then treated with full court ceremonial; the land for 300 *li* [168 km] around Kuaiji was given to Fan Li.²⁸² When Zuo Qiuming wrote *Discourses of the States*, he must have been roughly a contemporary of [Fan] Li's, and yet he still said that no one knew how he died. However, the Grand Historian says that he sailed out to sea and traveled to Qi, where he changed his name and called himself "Chiyi Zipi" and cultivated the land at the seaside. When he was old, he lived in Tao and had the title Lord Zhu of Tao.²⁸³ Ah! [Fan] Li was able to make his ruler a hegemon and also to live long himself. How wise! How wise!

Yuer is the name of a place. *Discourses of the States* says: "The lands of King Goujian stretched to Gouwu in the south to Yuer in the north."²⁸⁴ There is also a reference to King Goujian saying: "I will use [the people of] Yuer to keep an eye on [Wu]."²⁸⁵ But there is a common saying that *yù* [to guard] should be read *yǔ* [to speak], and the story runs: "When Fan Li presented

Lady Xi to Wu, on the road she gave birth to a child, and when they arrived here, it could speak.” There is another saying derived from this: “When Wu collapsed, Lady Xi followed Fan Li on his travels.” Du Mu also says:

Lady Xi left the kingdom of Wu,
Pursuing Chiyi by boat.²⁸⁶

Given that [Fan] Li’s wisdom was such that he could enlighten his ruler and preserve his own person, he must have been unstained by any suggestion of corruption. In the past, when King Wu [of Zhou] attacked King Zhou [of the Shang dynasty], he executed Dan Ji, and Gao Jiong [d. 607] asked permission to execute Zhang Lihua [d. 589].²⁸⁷ Who would say that [Fan] Li was a more stupid man than Gao Jiong?

Wu was called “Gouwu” in ancient times, which is probably a word in the regional dialect, just like Yue being called “Yuyue.” There are also those who say: “Wu is the same as *yu* [to deliberate]. Taibo came here to deliberate on his ambitions.”²⁸⁸

Zhang Liang’s [262–189 BCE] grandson in the seventh generation was named Mu, and his style name was Xuangong, and during the Later Han dynasty he became prefect of Shu Commandery.²⁸⁹ To begin with, he lived in Wu Commandery, and the Zhang family of Wu Commandery is descended from him.

Chu Boyu [394–479] had the style name Yuanqu and was a native of the Qiantang region. From a young age he had reclusive tendencies, and then he moved to Shan [County], where he lived at the Baobu Mountains. He lived in the mountains for more than thirty years, cut off from all contact with others. When Wang Sengda [423–458] took control of Wu Commandery, he paid [Chu] a formal visit during which he stayed overnight at the Duxin hostelry, but they spoke only a few words and then he withdrew. The Pacifying the North general, Qiu Zhensun, wrote a letter to [Wang] Sengda as follows: “I have heard that Master Chu is living within your noble household. This man is a recluse and ascete who has refused to serve any king or prince for many years. You are not someone who finds it easy to bend to others, nor do you particularly enjoy collecting wise men [in your company], so why has he gone to you?” [Wang] Sengda replied to this letter: “Master Chu has lived in reclusion for a long time. Just recently, when I wanted him to come here, I had to reassure him day and night. We talked about academic success and discussed living in reclusion, and it was like penetrating the mists and rain

to look down on Cangzhou.”²⁹⁰ In the past, Qiu Dan [fl. 780s] responded to one of Wei Yingwu’s poems as follows:

I have returned with Chu Boyu,
Entering the service of a man from Tianzhou.²⁹¹

That is a reference to this.

Yan Han of the Jin dynasty was known for his filial piety and for being a good friend. From having been the district marquis of Xiping, he was appointed a palace attendant, and then he was given the position of prefect of Wu Commandery. Wang Dao asked [Yan] Han: “You have now been appointed to a famous commandery, so which aspect of government will you give priority to?” He replied: “The royal army has been on the move for years, [leaving] the ordinary people desolate. The noble and powerful [families] in both north and south either compete for office or live in total idleness, impoverishing the nation in order to enrich themselves, which is a source of worry to any official. So I am going to summon the powerful families and make them go back to their fields and mulberry plantations, so that in the space of a couple of years each household can produce enough to satisfy the people’s needs. In this way, they will be well governed while awaiting an enlightened leader.” What [Yan] Han described was a simple and kind [plan], an enlightened program that would be possible to implement, and he could control his subordinates, thanks to his tremendous reputation. [Wang] Dao sighed and said: “With Master Yan in charge, the people of Wu will have to obey the rules.” However, before he had taken up his office, he was summoned back to be a palace attendant.²⁹²

He Qiu of the Jin dynasty had the style name Ziyou, and his younger brother [He] Dian had the style name Zixi, while his youngest brother had the style name Ziji. They were the grandsons of [He] Shang, Lord Jianmu. The He family originally came from the other side of the Yangzi River, and after [He] Chong, the Jin dynasty minister of works, they were all buried at Mount Xi in Wu. [He] Qiu was offered the job of attendant gentleman in the Secretariat and did not accept it. He lived as a recluse in the Great Wisdom Temple in Wu, never setting foot outside the door. People hardly ever saw him, but even so, he later moved into further seclusion at Tiger Hill. In the fourth year of the Yongming reign era of the Qi dynasty [486], he was appointed superior grand master of the palace, but he would not accept it, and then he died. [He] Dian would not go near a city, he had an honest and

upright character, and he enjoyed being friendly with people. He wandered around among the populace, wearing neither a hairpin nor a belt for his gown, and always behaved with equal freedom. There was no one to whom he would bend his head; he always spoke in a loud voice and sat with his legs splayed, and yet dukes and ministers treated him with all due ritual propriety. Sometimes he would ride on a cartload of firewood or woven-grass shoes, behaving without any restraint, and he would go home only when he was drunk. He was successively appointed vice director of the Secretariat and palace cadet in the household of the heir apparent, but he never showed up. When [He] Dian was a child, he was once ill and desperate for a cure. Later, he built [a hall] where doctrine could be expounded at the Stone Buddha Temple [Shifosi] in Central Wu, and when he went to sleep one day in the Doctrinal Hall, he dreamed that a Buddhist monk of a most remarkable appearance held out a pill in one hand. In his dream he took this medicine, and from that time onward, he recovered. Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty was an old friend of [He] Dian's, and so he both gave him a deer-skin cloak and summoned him to his presence. [He] Dian then wore the cloak when he arrived at the [imperial] Lush Forest Gardens, and the emperor gave him a poem that he had composed and had wine served, in addition to which he appointed him to the post of a palace attendant, but he didn't even stand up on the grounds that he was ill. Ziji thought that many strange and miraculous things were to be found at Mount Kuaiji, and so he went traveling there, and he lived at Cloud Gate Temple [Yunmensi] at Mount Ruoxie. Before this, Ziji's two older brothers Qiu and Dian both went to live in seclusion; Qiu was the first to die. At that point Ziji also became a recluse. In their own lifetimes, Dian was called the "Great Mountain" [Dashan] and Ziji was called the "Little Mountain" [Xiaoshan]; they were also known as the brothers of East Mountain. They also called Dian the "Filial Recluse" [Xiaoyin] and Ziji the "Little Recluse" [Xiaoyin]. In their time they were [collectively] known as the three great masters of the He family. When Ziji was more than seventy years old, he moved back to Wu, to live at the Western Temple at Tiger Hill. He expounded on the Buddhist sutras and texts, and everyone holding office in the east or just passing through would be sure to visit him. Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty summoned him to take office as a specially promoted lord, but he would not go. He then appointed him a minister without portfolio, but he stubbornly refused to accept [this office]. He died at the age of eighty-six years.²⁹³

Lu Huixiao had the style name Shuming, and Zhang Rong had the style

name Siguang, and they were both men of Wu. [Lu] Huixiao was an honest and upright man who was very careful in his choice of associates; people in his own time called him the “Pei Yue of the Eastern Yangzi River region.” [Zhang] Rong had made a name for himself by the age of twenty *sui*, his deeds already far exceeding those of ordinary men. Huixiao and Rong lived next door to each other, and between there was a pond, and above the pond were two willow trees. He Dian sighed and said: “This pond surpasses any ordinary sweet spring; these trees are even more modest and yielding.”²⁹⁴ When Wang Ye of Wuling was prefect of Kuaiji, he appointed Huixiao administrator of the labor section responsible for prisoners of war, and he worked together with Liu Jin, the garrison administrator. [Liu] Jin was an upright official, and when he arrived in Wu, he said to someone: “I have heard that Zhang Rong and [Lu] Huixiao shared a house, and that in the middle there was a pond, which must have water with an exceptional flavor.” He then ordered a chariot to take him there, and he drank the water from a cup and said: “If you drink this water then every vestige of nastiness and parsimony [in your heart] will be eradicated.” Huixiao became the censor of Nangun Department, while Rong became a senior administrator in the Ministry of Education, and then they died.²⁹⁵ There is an old tradition that the Modest and Yielding Canal was very close to Ascending Fish Bridge and that it took its name from Lu and Zhang.

In the Time of the Southern Dynasties, the whole Wu region had an ancient archery festival, and when Yang Xuanbao [371–464] was in charge of Wu Commandery, it was held regularly.²⁹⁶ Later, however, it fell into abeyance for a long time, until Cai Xingzong [415–475] became prefect of Kuaiji, at which point he restored it, and the ceremonies were again performed in their entirety.²⁹⁷

The History of the Southern Dynasties says: Zhou Qia of Ru’nan was once appointed the magistrate of Wu [County], and he was a very honest and unselfish man who eventually died [while in office] as the director of waterways. He left no money to cover the expenses of his funeral, and so the other officials bought a coffin for him. Fu Hui also had the reputation of being a capable man; he was the magistrate of Wu, and one time when he said farewell to [his colleague] Sun Lian, the magistrate of Jiankang County, [Sun] Lian asked him: “I have heard that you, sir, get rid of bad people and are trusted and admired [by one and all]. You instruct [the people] like a sage, so why have you come here?” He replied: “For no other reason than diligence and purity. If you are pure, then you control your own actions; if

you are diligent, then everything is well organized. If you control your own actions, then officials cannot bully [others]; if everything is well organized, then things will proceed smoothly. Even if people want to cause trouble, can they?"²⁹⁸ [Fu] Hui eventually held high office as the administrative adviser to the cavalry.

At Tiger Hill there are the poems recording the Daoist master Qingyuan's visit to the temple with Shen Gongzi and of the Solitary Lord.²⁹⁹ Master Qingyuan is said to have lived from the Shang and Zhou dynasties, right through the Qin and to the end of the Han, and he called himself the "Ghostly Spirit." Yan [Zhenqing (709–785, *jinshi* 734)] was interested in this, and so he carved it on the rock face together with his own writings continuing the theme.³⁰⁰ Li [Deyu] also [wrote a poem] using the same rhymes.³⁰¹ As for the poem by the Solitary Lord, in the middle of the Dali reign era, it mysteriously appeared on the rock face above Sword Pond, and the surveillance commissioner Li Daochang made this known to the court. [Tang] Daizong then ordered [Li] Daochang to perform a sacrifice for him.³⁰² This was all very strange.

Administrator Zhang was a man from Wu County. His character was unconventional and broad-minded, he always stood out from the crowd, and his friends were the greatest men of the age. His grass-script calligraphy was truly remarkable. Before this, when he was commandant of Changshu, there was an old man who presented a petition. Judgment was given and he left, but he came back after a couple of days. The administrator was angry and gave him a dressing-down: "What reason do you have to keep bothering me in my office?" The old man said: "I observed that your lordship's calligraphy is indeed magnificent, and I wanted to get some for my collection. I have nothing else to say in my defense." Then [the administrator] asked about his collection, [and the old man] brought out his father's calligraphy. When the administrator saw it, he said: "This is some of the finest anywhere in the world." From this time onward, he pushed himself even further. He was very fond of wine, and every time he got really drunk, he would shout out and run wild, and then his calligraphy was even more amazing. One time he even dipped his head in the ink and used it as a brush, and when he woke up and looked at his calligraphy, he thought it was so remarkable that he would never be able to replicate it. Because of this, people in his own generation called him "Zhang the Great," and later, he became administrator of Jinwu.³⁰³

Wei Yingwu was appointed censor of Suzhou at the beginning of the Zhengyuan reign era, and at this time Fang Rufu [756–797] was the censor of

Hangzhou; they were both good men.³⁰⁴ Wei was deeply interested in poetry, while Fang was fond of wine, and their reputations spread throughout Central Wu, some people calling Wei and Fang “the gods of poetry and wine.” Wei’s character was lofty and refined, and he ate very little and had but few wants; wherever he was, he would take a seat only after burning incense and sweeping the ground. The people of the Tang dynasty were deeply in awe of him, and so they did not dare to speak his name, calling him instead “Wei of Suzhou.”

Du Mu wrote a poem that says:

I am a great friend of a local scholar named Zhu
Who lives in the middle of the Wu region.
He owns one hundred *qing* of Baya rice;
The west wind blows until it turns yellow.

Later in the same poem he says:

In the past, I visited his house,
A great scholar soaring like a phoenix or a crane
Crossing the emerald waters.
The shadows of the bamboo fell on the bed, [piled] with books and a lute.
He is so amazing that there is no modern comparison;
[He is like] the sages Yao, Shun, and Yu or the kings Wu and Tang.³⁰⁵

Looking at these poems, we can understand the wisdom of this local gentleman. However, no one now knows his name, and his works are unread. How sad!

[According to the] *Illustrated Guide [to Wu Commandery]*, every year there is a poll tax. Starting in the fourth year of the Dazhong xiangfu reign era, this was implemented in the Two Zhes and Fujian circuit and in the Hunan, Hubei, and Guangnandong circuit. The poll taxes exacted under irregular regimes were remitted as a special favor, and in an ordinary year more than 450,000 strings of cash are remitted. As a result, the people of Su[zhou] right up to the present day do not have a system whereby the population is counted in order to determine taxes, and they have benefited most greatly [from this].

Xie Tao, the adviser to the heir apparent, had the style name Jizhi, and after he reached the age of the capping ceremony, he lived in Central Wu.

When Hui Fenjin pacified the commanderies and countries, general congratulations were offered, but of the gentlemen from Wu who sent up memorials on the subject, their attitude was too refined and feeble, and so even though there were a great many of them, none of them were able to attract the commandery general's interest. Master Xie wrote to him privately, [a letter in which] his character shone out clearly, and the commandery general praised him greatly. The gentlemen of the Central Wu region felt deeply ashamed of themselves, but it was too late. Wang of Huangzhou and Court Reminder Luo had an agreement that they would both become magistrates in Wu, and Master Xie went traveling with them. Luo once wrote a letter to Wang in which he said: "Jizhi really is amazing, a match for anyone in our generation."³⁰⁶ His reputation as a great man has lasted right up to the present day.

Wang of Huangzhou [had the personal name] Yucheng and the style name Yuanzhi, and when he held office in Changzhou, his reputation spread to resound for an entire generation, and from this he was appointed a remonstrance official. That is why his poem says:

As an obscure official I lived in Wu for three years.

What matter of state could be so important as to summon Tao Qian back
[from his farm]?

Although my footsteps have already wended their way toward the court,
In my dreams I still find myself back at Tiger Hill.³⁰⁷

To this day a portrait of him survives at Tiger Hill, and his poems are all found in the *Comprehensive Anthology*.

Ding [Wei] was a man of Wu. In the middle of the Dazhong xiangfu reign era, [he held an appointment] as participant in deliberations about court policy, and in the eighth year he went out [of the court to take office] as military commissioner of Pingjiang and magistrate of Shengzhou. Grasping his flag of office, he went back to his old neighborhood, and when he passed his hometown, he prayed at the tombs [of his ancestors], and he wore his great official belt in order to bring glory to them. The people of Wu buried men who had held office as chancellor at Xijiayuan at Hua Mountain from the time of Lu Xuangong right up to [Ding Wei].

The Office of the Transport Commissioner of [Eastern and Western] Zhe[jiang] was originally located in Wu Commandery. When Sun He [961–1004], [styled] Hangong, moved east from the capital to the Two Zhe region,

he actually lived here and built three pavilions. The first was called “A Person from the Court,” and it was here that he relaxed; the second was called “Revising the Precedents,” and it was here that he read books; and the third was called “Mooring My Boat,” and it was here that he tied up the boat that he used for his tours of inspection. There is a “Record of Three Pavilions” [Santing ji] in his collected works.³⁰⁸

Of the Censors of Suzhou, Fan Wenzheng and Fu Jian were placed in control of their old hometowns. Ye [Can] was originally based in Dianzhou and then asked for permission to retire on the grounds of old age; his son [Ye] Daoqing came to hold office as transport commissioner in this circuit. His grandson, [Ye] Gongbing, became prefect of this commandery in the Xining reign era. Jiang Xilu held office twice in this region and then retired here. Sheng Wensu, Hu Wuping [995–1067, *jinshi* 1024], and Zhao Shuping all held office after him, and they were also very successful.³⁰⁹

The Official Accommodations for the Judge on the Staff of the Military Commissioner were very small and badly built in the past, but in the Tiansheng reign era, Zhang Min, [styled] Bozhen, from Wuning was part of the military staff, and he was the first to expand and rebuild them. At that time, [Zhang] Bozhen’s reputation was enormous, and his deeds were recorded in many books; he passed the *jinshi* examination in the first grade, and many Hanlin academicians wrote poetry for him. His “Record of the Official Accommodations” [Xieshe ji] was carved onto stone and still survives. At this time, the Hanlin academician Sheng Du [968–1041] and Huang Zongdan from the Ministry of Works were the prefects in this commandery, and they handed many problems over to Bozhen [to deal with].³¹⁰ [Zhang] Bozhen’s younger brother Bozhan stayed here with the present prefect and Grand Master for Court Discussion Tong Shiqin, and the gentlemen and grandees of Central Wu admired him greatly. In the end, Bozhan was appointed junior minister at the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and surveillance commissioner for Guangdong.

Prefect Zhang [Hu] once mentioned something about the time when [Zhang] Bozhen was in office.³¹¹ Sheng Wensu requested that he read through the relevant historical documents and compile stories about the governance of Wu into a book. This book was kept by the Sheng family, and no one else has ever seen it again, which is a great shame!

Xu Dong was famous in Wu for his regulated verse and *ci* poetry; he was also deeply versed in *Master Zuo’s Tradition of the Spring and Autumn Annals*, and he was an alcoholic. On one occasion, he was drinking in a

wineshop and wrote on the wall for the whole day, composing a song of several hundred words. The local people fought to be allowed to read it, and he then sold it for many times [what he owed]; thus he cleared his debts.

The Chen family produced two great gentlemen, one named Ying and the other Zhiqi. In the case of [Chen] Ying, I do not know his style name, but Fan Wenzheng called him “Master.” When the Qian family took power, Ying’s seven older brothers all took official posts, but he lived as a recluse at home, entertaining himself by playing the *qin* and practicing his calligraphy. He was interested in both Buddhism and Daoism, and in old age he ate neither garlic nor spicy food for fifteen years. Ding [Wei] was his maternal nephew and wanted to recommend him for an official position, but Ying refused. Jingong then wrote a poem praising his virtue. Ah! How can we fail to call him a gentleman! Zhiqi’s style name was Yuqing, and he refused an offer from the commandery king of Longxi to live in his household as an instructor [and insisted on] going home, where he eventually died at the age of eighty. He was at one point summoned to court, but he refused to go. He was strict about his own behavior and easy-going about everyone else, and he never acted in an arrogant or unpleasant manner. [If he met] a gentleman or an elder, he would set out wine and make friends with them. When [Chen] Yuqing was wandering around the place, he was not always looking at other people to determine whether they were from a humble family or a noble background—and so the people of his hometown loved him. When he met a cleric, he would always put on a serious air and get up to greet him respectfully, and people would say: “This is our gentleman from the Chen family.” He was a filial son, a good friend, and a good brother, and he would always give money to members of his family in need. Even though he was poor, he always did his very best, and when people in Wu spoke about good families, they would always mention [Chen] Yuqing. When he died, the present chancellor, Lord Wang, wrote his epitaph, in which he called him “A gentleman of the Chen family.”

Wei Jiang, the academician for the Hall for Aid in Governance and junior guardian, and Cheng Shimeng [1009–1086], the grand master for proper consultation and senior compiler in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, one after the other requested permission to retire on the grounds of old age and went to live in Central Wu in the fourth year of the Yuanfeng reign era [1081].³¹² These two great men were very good friends, and they went back home together. At that time, Zhang Hu, who was both the prefect and the grand master for court discussion, was regularly detained on official duties

there, and since he enjoyed the scenery and appreciated the landscape, [he held] regular meetings at which wine would be served and he could entertain himself. He once held a great party for these two old men as a continuation of the magnificent banquet at Luozhong. He composed a new *ci* poem in order to commemorate this occasion.

Miscellaneous Records

The “Wu Capital Rhapsody” says: “From the localities, the tribute was silk from the polyvoltine silkworm.”³¹³ In olden days, the following tribute came from Suzhou: ramie, silk, polyvoltine silk, crimson damask, cotton cloth, white bamboo mats, woven grass mats, shoes, large-grain and small-grain fragrant rice, citrus fruit, lotus roots, shark skin, hammerhead sharks, *yabao*, *du*-fish, fish roe, kaolin, and *Cnidum monnieri* [seeds]. This is all recorded in “Treatise [on Geography]” in the [New] *History of the Tang Dynasty*.³¹⁴

Wu Commandery sent two hundred wintercreeper [*Euonymus fortunei*] roots in the middle of the Daye reign era [605–616], and they were planted in the Western Gardens by imperial decree. These plants twine around other trees, and their leaves are round and thick and do not drop even in the depths of winter. In the summer months, it puts forth [new] leaves, which, after a light roasting, can be used to make a drink that is light green in color, has a delicious fragrance, and is very thirst-quenching. It was a certain Chan Buddhist master named Chou, possessed of exceptional medical knowledge, who used the leaves of the wintercreeper to make a green drink. They also presented bags weighing two hundred *jin* full of Manchurian wildrice [*Zizania latifolia*]; this is a vegetable that comes from the stems and roots of the wildrice plant. In form it is like a very fine mushroom, while its color is a kind of orange like a golden *geng*-tree [*Hemiptelea*]. When the leaves are tender and fresh, they are very delicious served with fish or meat. You grow them for seven or eight months, salt them lightly, bag them, and present them [to the court].

Wu Commandery sent white carp minnows from Lake Tai in the middle of the Daye reign era, and by imperial decree they were released into the waters of the lake in the [Western] Gardens but kept in wicker containers. After more than ten days, they had turned into little fish. They took these fish, and three to five days before the start of summer, when the white carp had grown big, they would gather at dusk in the shallow waters at the edge of the lake where the wildrice grew in order to spawn, and the eggs would collect

on the grass stems. This is the time that fishermen spread their nets to catch the fish. Afterward, at around the second watch, having finished spawning, the [white carp] would disperse into the deeper waters, at which point they would scythe down the wildrice containing the minnows and sun-dry them before sending them to the Eastern Capital [Luoyang].³¹⁵ Up until the time of the Tang dynasty, there were still white carp at the Eastern Capital.

Wu Commandery presented four bottles of dried minced croaker in the middle of the Daye reign era, and when rehydrated each bottle turned out to contain enough to cover ten serving platters, each 1 *chi* across.³¹⁶ The emperor introduced this dish to his ministers, saying: “In the past, the astrologer Jie Xiang caught this kind of fish with a hook and line at court, but that was a magic trick and is nothing to be amazed at.”³¹⁷ Today’s minced fish is made with genuine fish from the eastern ocean that have come from several thousand *li* away. This is indeed an exceptional delicacy, which maybe you will eat only once in your lifetime.” Yu Shiji [d. 618] said: “Since last time it was a magic trick [performed by] an astrologer, this minced fish is also certainly not the real thing.” [The emperor] then sent out several platters to bestow upon his assembled officials.³¹⁸ The flesh of ocean fish is delicate and does not have a strong smell, and even after it has been dried for a long time, there are still ways to treat it whereby you can make it edible. There were also forty baskets of sea shrimps, and their color was like red glass. They glistened in the light, fat and beautiful, several times better than any carp. [Wu Commandery] also presented one thousand carp *handu* of exceptionally good quality, much better than drum-fish *handu*. [Wu Commandery also presented] six bottles of dried minced Song River perch, and each bottle contained a *dou* [of fish]. If you serve it with fragrant flowers and leaves and cut [the fish] so finely that it is like a mince, they go very well together. The flesh of these perch is as white as snow and does not have any unpleasant odor; that is why it is called “golden powder” or “jade mince” and is the most famous delicacy of the southeast. If you have purple flowers and green leaves, and the minced fish is served between them completely plain, it is both delicately fresh in flavor and entirely delightful. [Wu Commandery also presented] twenty honey crabs and four jars of sand crabs [to the court]. Sand crabs look just like ordinary crabs, but they are a bit smaller and have one large claw. These are the “Cuttlefish and sand crabs” mentioned in the “Wu Capital Rhapsody.”³¹⁹ [Wu Commandery in addition presented] forty bottles of filleted carp, which is a richer and better-flavored dried fish mince than what you get from a sturgeon, and there are special ways to prepare all

these [delicacies]. At that time, there was an official in the catering department called Du Ji, and Ji came from Kuaiji, and he was exceptionally good at harmonizing flavors. Many delicacies from the sea were then exterminated simply in order to please the ruler's palate, and in the end the dynasty collapsed.³²⁰ This should be a warning!

Yang Xuangan [d. 613] rebelled in the middle of the Daye reign era.³²¹ Zhu Xie [d. 613] of Wu and Guan Chong [d. 613] of Jinling roused the Jiangnan region in response, raising an army of several hundred thousand men. The Sui generals attacked but failed to conquer them, so the emperor then sent Wang Shichong [d. 621], the administrative aide of Jiangdu, to pacify them with an army of thirty thousand soldiers from Huainan. To begin with, when [Wang] Shichong first crossed the Yangzi River, he fought three highly successful battles, and when he arrived at Kunling, they opened [the gates] to the city to welcome him in. The next day, when he advanced his army, the rebels took Panfeng Fortress in order to cut off his retreat. [Wang] Shichong then ordered several tens of thousands of bundles of firewood to be heaped up around the fort and set fire to it. Four or five out of every ten rebels either ran away or were killed. The remainder made their stand at Wuxi, and [Wang] Shichong then razed the city. The rebels still held Baifang Fortress, but when Shichong arrived, they came out and welcomed him in. Shichong then agreed to pardon their leaders and then went with several dozen men who had led the rebellion in Wu but had also been the first to surrender to burn incense in front of the auspicious images in Communicating with the Mystery Temple, swearing that they would not be punished or killed. When the people of Wu heard this, within a week, pretty much everybody had gone home. Shichong, however, went back on his word, for he coveted women and booty, and so he buried alive at the foot of Mount Huang eight thousand men who had surrendered, collected a vast booty, and selected more than eighty beautiful women whom he presented to the throne on his return. The emperor bestowed them all on Shichong. When Shichong arrived home, his wife Lady Lu was very upset when she saw [the other women], and she killed herself that very day.³²² When it comes to the proper conduct of war, [Wang] Shichong behaved with the utmost brutality; he betrayed his sworn oath and murdered men who had surrendered. This was a most terrible act!

Eastern Chan Buddhist Monastery in Su[zhou] possesses an ancient image of the Buddha, which is very solemn and beautiful in appearance, with an urna several *cun* [6–9 cm] in diameter on its forehead. In the Jiawu year of the Qianfu reign era, suddenly a strange light was observed by many

nobles and commoners, glowing red and yellow, green and purple, and devout Buddhists gathered in great numbers. Three days later, an old man who had become suspicious about this matter insisted on climbing a ladder to inspect where the light [on the statue of the] Buddha was coming from. He then saw that there was a hole in the head of the Buddha's statue, and guarding it there were two white rats, each more than a *chi* in length. When they jumped out from the hole, light would then bathe the sky-well. Upon investigating further, this man discovered several bits from torn banners—when a red banner touched the light [streaming] from the urna, it turned red, and the green, yellow, and purple [lights] were produced in the same way. People then all sighed and went home. Lu Menzi said: “The Buddha is also known as the Golden Deity. Now these white rats have dug a hole that makes light stream through the urna. Does this not mean that Metal is in the ascendant?”³²³ Shortly afterward, war broke out.

Zhou Bao, the commander of Run[zhou], had his son-in-law Yang Maoshi appointed censor of Suzhou in the second year of the Zhonghe reign era [882], when Emperor Xizong was in exile in Sichuan. He was deeply involved in shamanic and heterodox practices and had a temple to the Fire Devil built in the southern area of the citadel, where he performed animal sacrifices. In addition, he had several hundred catties of charcoal burned in the courtyard of the temple. After this, Central Wu was ravaged by military action. Was this perhaps also the first sign that the barbarians [would attack] Yichuan [in Luoyang]?³²⁴

Dong Chang was in charge of military matters in Hangzhou at the beginning of the Guangqi reign era [885–887], and Zhou Bao of Jiangxi was afraid of his power, so he had Xu Yue appointed censor of Suzhou in order to control him. Within less than a year of [Xu] Yue's arrival, he had built a temple to the King of the Nine Rivers, with sculptures of immortals, dragons, hornless dragons, and water serpents on the walls of both the main hall and the side rooms, with a painted background of clouds and thunder, waves and foam. After that, the Suzhou region endured terrible floods for three years, during which time the people barely had anything to eat. [Zuo's] *Tradition* says: “Monstrosities are caused by humans; [if men do not] bring them about, they will not happen of their own accord.”³²⁵ Surely that is a reference to this kind of situation!

The Dongting Mountains produce a high-quality tea, which was used as tribute by people in olden days. The *Classic of Tea* says: “Changzhou County produces Dongting Mountains [tea], which is comparable in flavor to that

of Jinzhou or Qizhou.”³²⁶ In recent years, the mountain monks have become particularly good at cutting just the freshest shoots, and they call this “Water Moon Tea,” the name being taken from the temple.³²⁷ This has gradually become esteemed by the people of Wu.

Zhang Youxin [*jinshi* 814] tested the waters of the empire, and the second best came from the spring at Mount Hui, the third from the well at Tiger Hill, and the sixth was the waters of the Song River.³²⁸ Lu [Guimeng] was a friend of his, and he was much assisted by the senior monks and recluses of the day. As for the waters of the Song River, some people say that the very best comes from the Fourth Bridge, which is the farthest from wells and people’s houses, and so it is only appropriate that it should be the clearest. When they use river water to brew wine, the highest quality comes from other places. In the past, when people drank wine, they also thought that water from streams made the most delicious kind.

During the Tang dynasty, Suzhou presented lotus roots [as tribute], and the very finest were called “Wounded Lotus root.” Some people say that the leaves were so sweet that they were “wounded” by grubs; others say that they would strip away the leaves in order to make the roots longer.³²⁹ There were also many “Tower” lotus blossoms, whereby one flower grows right on top of another, which is very curious.

During the Tang dynasty, one corner of a belvedere at Massed Primordial Essence Temple suddenly started to sink, and they calculated that it would take several thousand strings of cash to get it propped up. One carpenter said: “This is not worth bothering people with. I ask permission to get one man to cut a wedge that we can use to correct [the tilt].” The abbot of the temple agreed to this, and when the monks had finished eating, they took a couple of wedges, climbed up, and knocked them in. Within less than a month, all the pillars of the belvedere had straightened out.³³⁰

Profitable Women Township [Liwaxiang] is located in Wu County. The people of Wu call beautiful women *wa*, so it probably ought to be understood as Beautiful Women [Liwa] [Township].

The Illustrated Guide [to Wu Commandery] records that within the boundaries of Wu County, there was a Mount Ding and a Mount Su; these are probably mistakes in the textual record. According to the poem by Xie Lingyun [385–433]:

At dawn I set off south of the fishing bank;
At dusk I shelter within the walls of Fuchun.

Mount Ding sits alone among the clouds and mist;
No waves lap against the Crimson Pavilion.³³¹

There is a Mount Su in the region of the Zhe River that has the Flying Spring and the Stone Pestle Rock, with inscriptions carved on them [in the calligraphy] of a former ruler of Wu. It is located west of Qiantang County.

The Homing Pavilion in antiquity stood by the banks of the Wu River, from which point you could look out over the river and lakes. This was one of the most beautiful scenic spots in the empire, and in the past, many people wrote poems about it. In the middle of the Qingli reign era [1041–1048], Zhang Xianyi restored it so that it surpassed its former glory, and Cai Junmo [1012–1067, *jinshi* 1030] wrote a record of this matter.³³² In the middle of the Xining reign era [1068–1077], Director Lin Zhao left his appointment in the capital for one in the countryside, and he built the Perch Village Pavilion beside the Homing [Pavilion] in reference to the line by Chen Wenhui [fl. early eleventh century]: “Through autumn winds, the setting sun illuminates the village where the perch-fish live.”³³³ One side of the pavilion features portraits of Fan Li, Zhang Han, and Lu Guimeng, who are called the “Three Great Men.” People who know about such things say that they are very fine.



Commentary

Analysis and Comparisons

ANALYSIS: THE CHINESE CITY

GIVEN that Chinese city planning developed a highly normative form at an extremely early stage in the history of urbanization, any challenge to or deviation from one of the handful of acceptable plans was regarded as a highly worrisome development, suggestive of some fundamental instability at the very heart of the regime. As Nancy Steinhardt has observed: “The form of the capital city and its architecture were just two of the many means the emperor used to display his legitimized position as both ruler and guardian of tradition. The alteration of an accepted design was therefore considered a challenge to the imperial past. The imperial city was such a powerful symbol of rule that a nonnative conqueror would always choose to implement a Chinese design instead of plans more reminiscent of his homeland.”¹

By the time the city of Suzhou was founded (traditionally dated to 514 BCE, based on *Record of the Lands of Wu*), the norms of Chinese urban planning were already well established. Furthermore, King Helü of Wu, the founder of the city, claimed descent from the Zhou ruling house and hence a Hua-Xia ethnic and cultural identity. However, it would seem premature to simply assume—as many scholars have done—that Suzhou was a “Chinese city” built according to the design principles laid out in “Record of Artificers,” an issue that will be discussed in more detail below. Although there is some evidence of an association between this classic form of urban design and the plan actually imposed on Suzhou, there is equal evidence that the ancient city was very different from contemporary cities in the Zhou confederacy and subject to planning principles that were probably derived from Bai Yue culture. Steinhardt has noted ten key features that characterize traditional Chinese city planning: (1) the four-sided enclosure, representing the ruler’s dominion over the four directions; (2) the attention paid to the symbolic function of gates, far in excess of their practical role of allowing

the population to enter and leave the city; (3) the construction of defensive structures around the perimeter; (4) the use of a grid-like system of streets (and/or waterways) within the city walls, usually aligned with the points of the compass; (5) the division of the city into wards, providing internal structuring to the city; (6) the accessibility of water; (7) the vast size of ancient Chinese cities; (8) the enormous urban population; (9) the siting of the city according to geomantic principles; and (10) the use of a strict building order, whereby ideally the outer defensive walls were constructed before any of the internal buildings were erected.

This list was developed to define the characteristic features of Chinese capital cities after the unification of China in 221 BCE, but many of these norms already applied to capitals that were much more ancient, including those inhabited by the Zhou kings. In the case of a non-Chinese kingdom like Wu, it is useful to consider how much of this list matches the constraints governing the construction of the city of Suzhou.

The first question concerns the original shape of the city of Suzhou. At present, the old city is roughly rectangular, surrounded on all sides by a moat. This shape is attested in maps going back to the time of the production of the “Map of Pingjiang” in 1229. Before the development of a tradition of accurate to-scale city maps, scholars were entirely dependent on artists’ impressions of the shapes of cities (often known to be extremely inaccurate, as would be true whenever there was a conflict between the actual shape of the city and a canonical design, since the latter seems to have the greater influence) and textual accounts of the dimensions.² The earliest account of the dimensions of the city walls of Suzhou is in *Tales of the Lands of Wu*. However, although this suggests that it was originally built as a four-sided structure, there may well have been significant irregularities and projections that could not necessarily be easily described in the context of the general description given in this text. Furthermore, there is considerable evidence of major structural and design interventions affecting the city between the time the Han dynasty account of the city in *Tales of the Lands of Wu* was written and the “Map of Pingjiang” was engraved. Of particular importance is Yang Su’s decision to move Suzhou to a new location at the foot of Mount Heng in 589, followed by the return of the city (apparently to its original location) some forty years later. It is extremely unfortunate that the precise circumstances surrounding this temporary removal are very poorly recorded; the account given in *Record of the Lands of Wu* does not provide much specific information. It is, after all, quite possible that the decision to return the city to its previous

location was also accompanied by major reforms in its internal structure and design or indeed a significant reorientation of the overall shape of the walled enclosure.³ The decision to relocate the city for this short period of time remains entirely baffling; no surviving account offers any explanation for its relocation (particularly given that Yang Su was apparently willing to go to all this effort for a transfer that he expected to last for only a couple of decades) and subsequent return.

The idea that a proper city ought to be square is related to classical ideas concerning the correct shape for a country. The *Mencius* states that a senior lord in his time (the Warring States era) ought to have territory that formed a square, 100 *li* (approximately 50 km) in each direction.⁴ In this conception, the square capital city sits at the heart of a square country, which in turn abuts other square countries in a neat checkerboard pattern, completely unrelated to such tiresome and intrusive landscape features as mountains and rivers. While obviously having the merit of tidiness, there is no evidence that this vision of a properly ordered world was anything other than theoretical. However, the theory that a city should be square would have an extremely important influence on the design of many Chinese settlements—both planned cities and those that developed more organically.

The symbolic significance of gates in the design of a Chinese city was out of all proportion to their practical importance, as can be seen in the treatment accorded the gates to the city of Suzhou in ancient historical records and gazetteers. According to *Tales of the Lands of Wu*, the main city wall featured eight land gates and eight water gates, the latter generally assumed to have been attached to the former. The citadel had another three gates in the perimeter wall, two of which also had attached water gates.⁵ The text then goes on to name eleven individual gate complexes (referred to in this way because many of the gates featured a means of ingress by both land and water, and these apparently were not named separately) associated with the city of Suzhou. Given that the text leads one to expect this figure, it might be regarded as a positive development. However, only seven gates in the main city wall are mentioned by name, and the locations of the remaining four (whether associated with the main wall or with the citadel) are unclear. (See table 4.1 for a comparison of the names of the gates given in the three gazetteers.) In *Supplementary Records to the “Illustrated Guide to Wu Commandery,”* the “canonical” eight gates are indicated by underlining, and those gates that were actually operational during the Northern Song dynasty are marked with an asterisk.

TABLE 4.1: Suzhou Gates in the Han, Tang, and Northern Song Dynasties

	TALES OF THE LANDS OF WU (HAN)	RECORD OF THE LANDS OF WU (TANG)	SUPPLEMENTARY RECORDS TO THE “ILLUSTRATED GUIDE TO WU COMMANDERY” (NORTHERN SONG)
North	Pacification	Pacification	Pacification
	Qi	Qi	Qi*
East	Lou	Lou	<u>Lou</u> *
	Metal	Artisan’s	Artisan’s
		Feng	<u>Feng</u> *
		Chi	
		Bream and Tench	
South	—	Basin/Coiled	<u>Coiled</u> *
	Snake	Snake	<u>Snake</u> *
			Chi ¹
West	Xu	Xu	Xu
	Heavenly	Heavenly	<u>Heavenly</u> *
Others	Wu ²		Citadel ³
	Di		Spear
	Da		Beneficence Hall
	Chu		White ⁴

Note: Yinong Xu (*The Chinese City*, 116) gives a slightly different, and incorrect, list of the gates during the same period of time. In particular, he suggests that the Coiled Gate is mentioned in Han dynasty literature about Suzhou; this is not the case.

- 1 *Record of the Lands of Wu* lists this as an eastern gate, but *Supplementary Records to the “Illustrated Guide to Wu Commandery”* describes it as a southern gate.
- 2 *Record of the Lands of Wu* lists this as an eastern gate, but *Supplementary Records to the “Illustrated Guide to Wu Commandery”* describes it as a southern gate.
- 3 The next three gates mentioned in this column—Citadel, Spear, and Beneficence Hall—are the Northern Song dynasty names for the three gates to the administrative city (formerly the palace district) located in the citadel.
- 4 According to Zhu Changwen, this gate was constructed by King Helü of Wu for access to the citadel, although it apparently was not mentioned in any earlier text.

As can be seen in table 4.1, there is considerable confusion over the names and locations of the gates to the citadel. In addition, the total number of gates and those in usable condition varied enormously over time. Nevertheless, the figure of eight gates given in *Tales of the Lands of Wu* would result in this figure being regarded as the optimum for the city—even at times when many fewer were actually in operation—and gazetteers for Suzhou devote considerable attention to the history, name changes, and, in some cases, appearance of these gates. The discussion of gate architecture has generally focused specifically on Snake, or She, Gate, which was commonly said to have been designed with a view to providing symbolic control over the kingdom of Yue.⁶ As a result, this particular gate is described in considerable detail in the ancient historical texts associated with the long-standing conflict between these two kingdoms, such as the *Spring and Autumn Annals of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yue*:

[Helü] wanted to unite with Great Yue to the east. Yue was located in the southeast, and therefore he constructed Snake Gate, in order to control this enemy country. Wu is located in Chen, which is the Dragon lunar lodge; hence he had projections built above the south gate to the citadel, like a pair of interconnecting bastions, to correspond to the horns of a dragon. Yue is located in Si, which is the Snake lunar lodge; therefore above the main southern gate he placed a wooden snake, which faced north with its head inside [the city] to show that Yue was subordinate to Wu.⁷

In traditional interpretations of the significance of the four-sided city in Chinese thought, it is conventionally stated that this shape represents the authority of the ruler spreading out in all four directions. There seems to be no record of this kind of interpretation determining the shape of the city of Suzhou, but a similar idea is mentioned as a factor in determining Wu Zixu's layout of the eight land gates and eight water gates that provided access to the city. According to the *Spring and Autumn Annals of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yue*, which contains some interesting details on the founding of the city, the geomantic siting of King Helü's capital was very carefully planned:

[Wu] Zixu then sent [someone] to find out the lay of the land and taste the waters, he checked the constellations of Heaven and the principles of Earth, and then he constructed a great city, 47 *li* in circumference. There were eight land gates to correspond to the eight winds of Heaven. There

were eight water gates to correspond to the eight entrances to the Earth. He built a citadel, 10 *li* in circumference, with three small gates. There were no entrances on the east side, for he evidently desired to put an end to Yue. He established the Heavenly Gate, in order to correspond to the gate of Heaven and allow in the Changhe wind. He established the Snake Gate, in order to correspond to the door of Earth.⁸

The third important feature of a Chinese city that Steinhardt identified is the presence of defensive structures such as bastions, towers, gatehouses, and so on, around the city walls. This does not seem to have been a particularly important feature of the walls of Suzhou, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that this is not something that the majority of early imperial gazetteer writers mentioned, perhaps because it was not a subject that interested them much. Certainly in the case of the *Supplementary Records*, a discussion of defensive structures (with the implication that they might be required) would run entirely counter to the portrayal of a rich, peaceful society that is the hallmark of this text. In contrast, *Tales of the Lands of Wu* does contain some references to this kind of defensive building—according to this account, two of the eight land gates that gave access to King Heliü's capital had battlements, as did all of the gates to the citadel. Furthermore, this type of defensive structure was also mentioned in connection with a number of other cities and townships in the same region, including Yuzhao and Wuxi. However, references to this type of structure are unique to the Eastern Han dynasty text; the Tang and Northern Song gazetteers translated here do not include any discussion of additional buildings or security measures around the gates to the city.

Wu was always famous for its numerous lakes and waterways, which define the landscape of the region. *Tales of the Lands of Wu* offer evidence that canals are likely to have been important in the life of the city from its very inception; a highway with an associated canal is recorded as running through the very center of the city from Pacification Gate in the north to Snake Gate in the south. (Another east-west highway is recorded in this text, running between the Heavenly Gate and Lou Gate, but this road does not appear to have had an attached waterway.) The canals that crisscrossed Suzhou provided water for the daily needs of the inhabitants; they were also used for transportation within the city and the immediate surrounding area. Furthermore, the canals had an important function in regulating the waters of this low-lying and marshy region; in times of flood, they could act as cap-

illaries and divert the waters across a wide area. At the same time, in case of fire, they provided a convenient water supply that could help prevent the blaze from spreading. Much more than any road, the canal system of Suzhou and its network of bridges defined the city's landscape. Whereas in other cities in China, the gates received the most attention of any individual structure, in Suzhou, interest was divided between gates and bridges. While there are no bridges mentioned at all in *Tales of the Lands of Wu*, by the time of the Tang dynasty, there were conventionally said to be more than three hundred bridges inside the city walls, of which eleven are named in *Record of the Lands of Wu*. The *Supplementary Records* names twenty-three bridges, both inside and outside the city walls, eight of which are also named in the Tang dynasty text. The bald figures do not do justice to the bridge consciousness shown in both these texts, which also quote a significant quantity of poetry on the subject.

Although only one canal inside the ancient city is mentioned in *Tales of the Lands of Wu*, by the time of the Tang dynasty, as recorded in *Records of the Lands of Wu*, there was said to have been a network inside the city: "Great canals run through the middle of the city, three horizontal and four vertical." A somewhat different account of the network inside the city during the Tang dynasty is given by Zhang Shoujie (fl. 737), who records five horizontal and four vertical canals in his commentary to *Records of the Grand Historian*, stating that these canals were first dredged by Lord Chunshen of Chu.⁹ This account fits with other later records of canal building attributed to Lord Chunshen during his time in the region.¹⁰ The description in the *Supplementary Records* suggests an even more extensive network: "Looking at the area within the city walls, it is full of waterways that cut it up into islands and which then debouch into the Trembling Marsh. These little canals running through [the city center] are sandwiched by roads; otherwise the waters would not run peacefully past people's homes. Although this is a marshy country, there has never been a terrible flood inside the city. If it were not for the fact that wise men built it originally and capable men followed in their footsteps, would this be possible?" Both these descriptions demonstrate, not without hyperbole, the importance of canals in the life of the city. What is not stated, but which the later history of the city suggests, is that the extent of the network of canals inside the city walls probably varied enormously depending on the date. The Office of the Editorial Committee of Gazetteers for the City of Suzhou, the Suzhou Museum, the Suzhou Stele Museum, and Guwuxuan Publishing Company collaborated on a joint study of later maps

of the city that indicates that the extent of canal access to the city depended entirely on an extensive program of dredging—if left unattended, the canals quickly silted up and became unusable. Although in modern times, many canals have been filled so that they could function as roads, in the past, simple neglect would soon have a serious effect on the network. Thus the extent of the inner city canal network reported for one historical era is a very poor guide to the one that existed even a couple of decades earlier or later.¹¹ As a result, it is very difficult to gauge how well the canal network survived neglect during the Sui dynasty, when the city was moved to another site for a period of some four decades, or in the immediate aftermath of any of the numerous wars and rebellions fought on this soil. Both Chinese and Western scholars have suggested that the canal-and-road network depicted on the “Map of Pingjiang” was a new development associated with the second phase of reconstruction in the city, which took place in the reign of Song Ningzong.¹² While this is not necessarily entirely true, it may well be the case that many canals did effectively have to be dug again from scratch.

The ward system is a particular feature of ancient Chinese cities. Wards, usually delineated by boundary walls, provided an internal structural network for the city, dividing each part into a self-contained unit. These walls were regarded as crucial for the internal security of the city, since it was difficult for inhabitants to move from one area of the city to another after curfew unless they could show good cause. According to *Record of the Lands of Wu*, in the Tang dynasty, the city of Suzhou contained sixty wards, thirty located in Wu County and thirty in Changzhou County. The names of all sixty wards are listed in this text and are derived mostly from an important landmark within that ward or from a classical quotation. Although the ward system was clearly in operation in Suzhou during the Tang dynasty, there are good reasons for thinking that this was a comparatively recent development and had only limited application. No wards are mentioned in *Tales of the Lands of Wu*, and what is more, there is no suggestion anywhere in this text that any such internal divisions (and particularly dividing walls) were present in Suzhou at the time of the Han dynasty. This would then suggest that the ward system was not an integral part of the city’s design but a significant development implemented at some point in the early imperial era, after *Tales of the Lands of Wu* was compiled but possibly still as early as the Eastern Han dynasty.

Unlike the ward systems of many other cities in the empire, however, the ward system in Suzhou was apparently never fully operational.¹³ This

is not because it was introduced many centuries after the founding of the city, but more the result of the enormous size and small population of early imperial era Suzhou. Given that significant areas of the city remained uninhabited, there was no point in introducing the ward system—and indeed concomitant zoning restrictions—in these unpopulated parts. This ensured that throughout the imperial era (the old city of Suzhou was in fact not fully urbanized until the 1970s) it was possible to avoid the restrictions placed on residents of wards by simply moving to an area of the city where the small size of the population made introducing a ward more trouble and expense than it was worth. By the time of the Southern Song dynasty, the earlier sixty-ward system had been expanded to one of sixty-five following a program of reorganization in 1229 under the auspices of the prefect Li Shoupeng (the same man who commissioned the “Map of Pingjiang”), but by this stage, the concept of controlling a city by means of internal walls was already in significant decline.¹⁴ Already by the time of the late Tang dynasty, the cities of the eastern littoral, including Suzhou, had begun to relax the rules governing movement between wards, and the growing system of night markets similarly challenged these regulations. In the *Supplementary Records*, Zhu Changwen indicates that by his day the ward system was significantly neglected, and in many cases the gates (and in particular the name tablets on said gates) were no longer maintained. This impression is confirmed by Fan Chengda in his Southern Song gazetteer. Although Fan Chengda describes in some detail the overhaul of the system that took place in 1229, recording the new names selected for the various wards of the city, he also clearly found it more practical to describe the location of people’s residences in relation to nearby bridges rather than according to the ward in which they lived. This example seems to indicate that by the time of the Southern Song dynasty, the ward was no longer a meaningful division in Suzhou. As noted by Yinong Xu, it is also at around this time that the meaning of the character *fang* changes from the original “ward” to “gateway.”¹⁵ The implementation of the ward system in Suzhou hence may be said to have been both short-lived and unsuccessful.

The ninth point Steinhardt mentions is the use of geomancy in determining the location of a city. There are numerous references in texts such as the *Book of Songs* to the use of geomancy and belief in auspicious locations, with particular constellations being a crucial feature in selecting the site of a new city. This can be seen in “The Constellation Ding Is at Its Zenith” (Ding zhi fangzhong), from the *Book of Songs*, which is often quoted in studies on

the history of urbanization in China. Traditionally, this song was associated with the building of a new capital for the state of Wei in 658 BCE, after the people were forced to abandon their original capital following a devastating invasion by foreign forces. The first four lines of the first verse are usually all that is given, but the second verse contains additional references to the important divinations carried out when selecting the site for a new city:

When the constellation Ding was at its zenith,
They started work on the palace of Chu.
When they had measured it according to the sun,
They started work on the mansions of Chu.
They planted hazel and chestnut,
The ligiri, paulownia, catalpa, and lacquer tree,
That they might make lutes and zithers.
They climbed up over that mound of ruins,
To look out over Chu.
They looked out over Chu and Tang,
Measuring the mountains and hills by their shadow.
They descend to inspect the mulberry fields.
When a turtle-shell divination was performed, it was auspicious;
All thought that it was truly good.¹⁶

The founding of the city of Suzhou has no parallels to auspicious omens in the records, but there is a similar interest in astronomical phenomena. As described in the section of the *Spring and Autumn Annals of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yue* (translated above), when Wu Zixu “checked the constellations of Heaven and the principles of Earth” before deciding on the exact site of the city, he was extremely interested in selecting a location that harmonized with the stars. Although this subject is not mentioned in *Tales of the Lands of Wu*, by the time the *Supplementary Records* was written, it had become an accepted part of the history of the founding of the city and henceforward was regularly mentioned in gazetteers for Suzhou. It should be noted that although there are a number of other ancient Chinese cities that are similarly said to have been designed with astrological harmony in mind, any attempt to demonstrate a connection between the shape of a particular constellation and the archaeologically recovered design founders on the difficulty of associating the two in any concrete fashion. This problem has been thoroughly explored with reference to the Western Han dynasty capital Chang’an. The

northern half of the city traditionally was said to correspond to the Great Dipper and the southern half to the Little Dipper, but there is no evidence that this had any visible effect on the layout of the city or the positioning of any of the principal buildings.¹⁷ Thus, while similar claims have also been made for Suzhou, it is unlikely that this is anything more than a convention.

The final characteristic of traditional Chinese city planning is the construction of the main defensive structures, such as the city walls, before the populace is allowed to move in, as seems to have been the case with Suzhou. There does not seem to have been any particular building at the site before Wu Zixu's decision to construct the new capital there—given that the city seems to have been built from nothing, there is no reason the outlines of the city should not have been laid down before people were moved in to construct domestic dwellings. The precise location of the previous Wu capital is the subject of much scholarly dispute.¹⁸ If it is correct that the previous capital of the kingdom of Wu was located some distance away, practicality would dictate that it would be much easier to set out the positions of walls and gates (not to mention laying down the road-and-canal network) before the arrival of the future residents. The city of Suzhou was laid out on a massive scale, dominating the plain east of Lake Tai. Given the grandiose nature of this enormous city, intended to impress all who saw it with a profound sense of the wealth and power of the kingdom of Wu, the demands of the design would no doubt have been placed over and above the convenience of the populace.

One feature of the development of the capital city of the kingdom of Wu that has perhaps not received sufficient scholarly attention in the literature on the history and development of Suzhou is that King Helü of Wu's demands for his capital were very different from those of a Zhou king. As suggested by *Tales of the Lands of Wu*, the kings of Wu led highly peripatetic lives; though the evidence suggests that there was at least one royal palace built inside the walls of the capital, it is unlikely that the Wu monarch ever spent much time there.¹⁹ Even if the description in *Tales of the Lands of Wu* of a winter administration based at the capital and a summer administration based outside the city at an exurban palace is dismissed as hyperbole, there is considerable evidence from historical texts that the kings of Wu spent little time at home.²⁰ Numerous ancient Chinese texts record the fact that it was regarded as an important duty of the kings of Wu to lead their armies into battle personally and that many junior members of the ruling house also served as generals and diplomats, spending large parts of their lives abroad.

For a bellicose country like Wu in the late Spring and Autumn period, this demand would ensure that members of the ruling house did not often reside in their palaces. Furthermore, battle command exacted a high toll on the Wu kings. King Helü's father was killed in combat, shot dead by a sniper in a disastrous attack on the city of Chao during the 548 BCE invasion of Chu. One of his uncles was murdered by a Yue prisoner of war during a tour of inspection of the docks. King Helü murdered his predecessor, King Liao of Wu, only to fall victim to wounds sustained in battle against King Goujian of Yue. Given that even the most peace-loving and optimistic monarch of the kingdom of Wu would have known that, between war and diplomacy, he would have to spend much of his life on the move, it is clear that, for them, the court and the royal palace in the capital would have a strictly limited function. This does not mean that these buildings were not important; rather it indicates that the monarch had little reason to expect to spend much time there and hence other functions (such as, for example, impressing visiting ambassadors or being impregnable to enemy attack) were liable to be more influential in the design and placement of the palace and other administrative structures.²¹ This stands in stark contrast to the situation of the Zhou kings and other rulers of the Central States at the time, who led much more sedentary lives and for whom the management and design of the "palace-city" (*gongcheng*) or "administrative city" (*huangcheng*) were significant on a personal level.

Zhou dynasty cities, which featured a palace-city or administrative city in their design, showed a fundamental concern with segregating the ruling elite from the rest of the population.²² It is not at all clear whether this concern also activated the Wu kings, because we do not know the location of their palaces in the city. By the time of Lord Chunshen, however, it would seem clear that all significant government buildings were located inside the citadel area, where they would remain until the first emperor of the Ming dynasty, Hongwu (r. 1368–1398), ordered this part of the city razed. It is even possible that at the time of Lord Chunshen's appointment, the location of King Helü's palaces and other administrative buildings had been forgotten; a couple of centuries had passed since the fall of Wu, and there is every reason to suppose that the onslaught of the Yue army in 473 BCE unleashed devastation on the city. Attempts to make the city of Suzhou accord with "Chinese" models have often resulted in the glossing over of the amount of information that has been lost, to the detriment of our understanding of this important early example of a planned city.

Analysis: Designing the City of Suzhou

The three gazetteers translated in this book provide an account of the development of the city of Suzhou from the time of its construction to the Northern Song dynasty. However, all of these texts provide only scanty evidence concerning one important issue: When King Helü demanded that his chief adviser Wu Zixu design a new capital city for the kingdom of Wu, what exactly did he have in mind? The question of what the original city looked like has attracted a certain amount of scholarly attention in modern times, particularly among researchers interested in the history of urban planning in China. They tend to focus on textual evidence concerning the development of city design and note the similarity between the layout of Suzhou as described in *Tales of the Lands of Wu* and the account of an ideal city in the “Record of Artificers” chapter of the *Rites of Zhou*.²³ It is perfectly correct that the city recorded in *Tales of the Lands of Wu* is said to have had eight gates, which is identical to the description of the proper design for a city recorded in “Record of Artificers.” But many other features of the proper Chinese city as described in this text bear no relation whatsoever to the ancient capital of the kingdom of Wu as recorded in early imperial era gazetteers. “Record of Artificers” gives only a very short account of the principles at work in laying out a city, couched in extremely obscure language with much evidence of numerological interest outweighing practical considerations, but the terms in which they are described are worth translating in full in order to facilitate the subsequent discussion. As will be seen, scholars determined to focus on Suzhou as a Chinese city, an expression of traditional Chinese principles of urban planning, have carefully ignored those aspects that do not fit with this ancient account.

The first part of the “Record of Artificers” account focuses on the steps to be taken before breaking ground in the construction of a new city. This section concentrates on one feature of the design—alignment according to the points of the compass:

Artisans build the capital city. The level of the land is checked by strings; stakes are set up with strings attached, so that they may observe the shadows cast. Having set up a gnomon, they observe the shadow cast at sunrise and the shadow cast at sunset. During the day they track the progress of the sun; during the night they inspect the Northern Dipper. By these means they are able to establish the direction in which the sun rises and sets.²⁴

The process described here is significantly simpler than that mentioned in accounts of Wu Zixu positioning of the city of Suzhou. This section asks only that the artisans consider one aspect when siting the city, but as described in the passage from the *Spring and Autumn Annals of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yue* translated above, Wu Zixu was required to inspect the features of the land and the sweetness of the waters, as well as the alignment of the stars (which may or may not have reflected an orientation based on compass directions).²⁵ In its present rectangular shape, Suzhou is clearly laid out on a north-south axis, but whether that was indeed the intention of the original designers will be discussed in more detail below.

The second section of "Record of Artificers," which is concerned with city design and urban planning, reads as follows:

Artisans build the capital city. It is 9 *li* [5 km] square, with three gates in each side. Within the capital there are nine north-south highways and nine east-west highways; these highways [are wide enough to allow the passage of] nine carriages.²⁶ The ancestral shrine is located on the left and the Altar to the Soil on the right; the court is in front and the marketplace behind.²⁷ Both the court and the marketplace are 1 [100 *bu* across]. In the time of the Xia dynasty, the Main Hall of the Ancestral Shrine was two sevens north to south, and four by one in breadth. The five chambers were three fours *bu* and four threes *chi*.²⁸ There were nine steps [leading up to it].²⁹ On each side there were two windows bracketing [the door], and [the whole building was] whitewashed. The hall to either side of the door is two-thirds the size, the chambers one-third the size. The people of the Shang dynasty built the [Hall with] Double Eaves. The main chamber was 7 *xun* north to south, and 3 *chi* high. The veranda on all four sides [was covered with] double eaves. The people of the Zhou built the Hall of Light; this can be measured using a 9-*chi* mat.³⁰ From east to west [the Hall] measures nine mats, from north to south it measures seven mats, and [it is] one mat high. As for the five chambers, each one of them [measures] two mats. Inside the chambers, you measure with armrests, in the upper part of the hall you measure with mats, inside the palace you measure with *xun*, the wilds you measure with *bu*, while roads you measure in carriage-widths. The gate to the ancestral shrine should allow the passage of seven bronze cauldrons mounted on poles; the gate to the side gate [to the ancestral shrine] should allow the passage of three bronze cauldrons mounted on poles. The Inner Gate should not allow the passage of five carriages; the Main Gate should allow the

passage of three lots of two carriages. Inside, there are nine chambers—here the royal concubines reside. Outside there are nine chambers—here the king's ministers hold court. His capital is divided into nine regions, and these nine regions are under the control of the nine ministers. The pillars of the royal palace measure 5 *zhi*, the corners of the palace measure 7 *zhi*, the corners of the city walls measure 9 *zhi*. The highways [inside the city] are nine carriage-widths across, the ring road is seven carriage-widths across, and the roads running through the wilds are five carriage-widths across. The measure of the pillars determines the size of the domains [of junior members of the royal house and senior officials]; the measure of the corners of the palace determines the size of the city of a feudal lord; the ring-road determines the size of highway allowed to a feudal lord, while the road through the wilds determines the size of highway allowed in a city [belonging to a junior member of the royal house or senior official].³¹

A number of features in this account bear no relation to the early city of Suzhou described in *Tales of the Lands of Wu* or indeed any other account of the kingdom of Wu's architecture and customs. For example, one of the most striking characteristics of the "Record of Artificers" text is the interest shown in numerology. Although this aspect of the text has perhaps been exaggerated by early commentators such as Zheng Xuan, who argued that the twelve gates in the city wall represent the Earthly Branches, the five chambers of the Xia dynasty main hall refer to the Five Elements, and so on, this kind of interpretation is sanctioned by the very strong numerological focus of the text. There is no account of the construction of the Wu capital that shows a comparable interest. Another striking characteristic is the sliding scale of suitable city size described in this passage. This account betrays obvious concern over the relative size of different cities in the country and the scale of measurements to be used. The city described in this text is supposed to be the royal capital; the cities built by Zhou aristocrats were meant to be smaller.³² Clearly this was an important issue in the Spring and Autumn period, for it is also reported in *Zuo's Tradition*.³³ At this time, rulers (at least in the Zhou confederacy) were worried that their prerogatives were being encroached upon in this respect, but there seems to be little evidence that this was a particular worry for later monarchs, and hence this section of the text has been received less attention. The imperial era would produce a succession of emperors who were deeply concerned about their prerogatives being impinged upon, but the dimensions of provincial cities vis-à-vis the

imperial capital does not seem to have been the cause of much anxiety. There is no evidence in any account of the kingdom of Wu that the capital was designed to be larger than other cities of the realm.

The ideal capital as described in the “Record of Artificers” chapter is square (which King Helü’s capital certainly was not, if the dimensions given in *Tales of the Lands of Wu* are accurate) and has twelve gates, three in each wall. As mentioned, the number of operational gates in the outer city wall varied enormously, though the canonical interpretation is that there were originally two gates constructed on each side. For scholars wishing to understand the kingdom of Wu as the southernmost branch of the Zhou polity, ruled by a senior branch of the royal house, then the gesture of the penultimate king of Wu in including only eight gates in his capital city’s design would be regarded as an example of suitable modesty in refusing to rival the Zhou king. The intrinsic improbability of King Helü of Wu (the single most powerful ruler of his time) believing himself to be in any way inferior to the Zhou king, or accepting a familial link with that monarch for anything other than political expediency, makes it most unlikely that these considerations weighed on him at all. Furthermore, there is no evidence that the internal organization of the ancient city of Suzhou corresponded in any way with the gridlike pattern of bisecting highways described in “Record of Artificers.” The somewhat obscure wording of this account has traditionally been interpreted as meaning that three three-lane highways divided the city into sixteen sections; however, *Tales of the Lands of Wu* describes only one highway and one smaller road inside the city walls. While massive highways bisecting the city were a powerful statement of governmental control in Zhou cities—enabling officials to proceed magnificently in full sight of the populace in times of peace and quickly reach the source of threat in times of trouble—it is not at all clear that this was the way in which King Helü’s capital worked. The absence of a network of highways does not necessarily mean that the capital of the Wu kingdom was any more lawless or lacking in spectacle than contemporaneous cities to the north. In Zhou cities, the wide boulevards where the government demonstrated its power also allowed for the existence of narrow alleyways running in between, where the writ of officials did not apply. Furthermore, in the marshy area not far from Lake Tai where Suzhou was constructed, the majority of traffic most likely moved by water rather than by road.

The “Record of Artificers” chapter contains a reference to the siting of the ancestral temples and the market, both of which are highly problematic in

relation to Han dynasty descriptions of Suzhou.³⁴ *Tales of the Lands of Wu* includes a number of references to religious architecture located within the bounds of the ancient kingdom of Wu, but these are specifically said to have been dedicated to the spirits of the River and the Sea. In addition to that, these shrines were not located within the confines of the city but are clearly said to have been sited along the coast, in order to take advantage of the morning and evening tides. (The account in *Tales of the Lands of Wu* places this pair of shrines at Tangpu, a site that remains unidentified but which, from context, must have been by the seashore.) What is more, sacrifices at these shrines are said to have been halted in the reign of King Helü. The religious life that existed in the capital of the kingdom of Wu during the reigns of its last two kings is hence entirely unrecorded, but there is no reason to suppose that it bore any relation to the ancestor worship and sacrifices to the state altars of soil and grain that pertained among the aristocracy and ruling elite of the states of the Zhou confederacy.³⁵ Shrines dedicated to ancestors are mentioned in *Tales of the Lands of Wu*, but these are much later; the Han dynasty religious foundations are dedicated to the memory of Liu Pi, King of Wu; Emperor Gaozu; Emperor Xiaowen; and so on. All of these shrines are specifically said to have been destroyed in 40 BCE, when such institutions located in commanderies and kingdoms were banned. The early history of religious buildings in the Wu region is therefore extremely obscure.

The reference to the main market is similarly problematic. There apparently was at least one marketplace in the Wu capital; it is mentioned in passing in the story of the burial of King Helü's daughter, when cranes were said to have danced there. The location of this market is completely unknown (other than that it was somewhere inside the city walls, given that those who saw this performance subsequently left by the Heavenly Gate to be entombed with the dead princess). It is likely that it was not in the same location as the later market also recorded in *Tales of the Lands of Wu*, which was constructed by Lord Chunshen. In this instance, he is said to have breached the city wall in two places in order to construct it—a baffling statement unless either King Helü's original city had fewer than eight gates and Lord Chunshen decided to install some new entrances in order to create easy access to the marketplace or the market was sited inconveniently closely to the wall, forcing a reconstruction of that area of the city. This issue is not clarified by later gazetteers. *Record of the Lands of Wu* restricts itself to recording the story of the death of the princess of Wu, giving no indication at all of where the main market or any of the other markets were located during the

Tang dynasty. The *Supplementary Records* mentions a number of different marketplaces, such as Golden Oriole Market and Western Market, scattered about the city. There is no indication of how long these markets had been at these locations, nor is there any suggestion that their siting had been determined by their relationship to religious buildings.

For these reasons, it would seem highly unsatisfactory to attempt to understand the ancient capital city constructed by King Helü of Wu as in any way related to the ideal city plan recorded in the “Record of Artificers” chapter of the *Rites of Zhou*. Although such a comparison is rendered tempting by the appearance of Suzhou recorded in the “Map of Pingjiang,” which does indeed show the city bisected by road-and-canal highways, there is no evidence that this structure was in place during the late Spring and Autumn period or that this formed any part of the original design. The lands of the kingdom of Wu became part of China at the time of unification in 221 BCE, and hence its records became incorporated into Chinese history, even though this is highly anachronistic. The efforts of scholars to show the influence of the culture of the Zhou Central States during the reigns of the last kings of Wu have often moved far beyond stressing the undoubted links between these two civilizations to the point that their conclusions sail perilously close to falsification of the facts.

Analysis: The Snail City

The city of Suzhou is the site of the last capital of the kingdom of Wu and was inhabited by its last two monarchs. Before that time, the capital was located elsewhere, though the exact site remains highly controversial. Some Chinese historians have suggested that the prehistorical period saw the capital of Wu move gradually southeastward, to dominate the fertile plain east of Lake Tai, toward the coast.³⁶ Historians focusing on the late Spring and Autumn period, when the kingdom of Wu was perhaps the most powerful state in the Chinese world, have suggested that the location was carefully selected to take advantage of trade both across Lake Tai and overseas, and to prevent the kingdom of Yue (and indeed the Bai Yue peoples of southeastern China more generally) from gaining direct access to the Zhou confederacy—and vice versa.³⁷ The escalating warfare between the kingdoms of Wu and Yue in the late Spring and Autumn period was clearly an important factor in the early development of the city of Suzhou; many sites recorded in *Tales of the Lands of Wu* were specifically described as designed to ward off attack

from the Yue peoples or to provide mantic protection from or pressure on the Yue. In addition, the Wu capital itself was said to have been ringed by a series of additional defensive structures. The evidence of both *Tales of the Lands of Wu* and accounts of traditional Wu urban structures in the *Spring and Autumn Annals of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yue* suggest that the land inside the city walls consisted of both residential areas and farmland. This was intended to allow the people of Wu to continue farming in the event of an attack (or, more importantly, a prolonged siege) in fields protected by the walls. For a people whose lives were marked by constant warfare, such a precaution was no doubt highly prudent. The villages mentioned as Wu sites in *Tales of the Lands of Wu* are most likely the remnants of this original design and would have been surrounded by fields. Books about the history of the city of Suzhou frequently note that the area inside the city walls was not fully urbanized until the twentieth century, a reflection of both the enormous size of this ancient city and the survival of vestiges of the original design, in which farmland was maintained alongside residential areas.

The issue of the shape of the walled enclosure is particularly significant, since the Gouwu people did not have an indigenous tradition of producing four-sided cities (as was also the case with other branches of the Bai Yue). Reconstructions of the city as reported in *Tales of the Lands of Wu* show the basic shape of the inner and outer city walls as an asymmetrical trap-ezoid, which, while far from the square shape idealized in “Record of Artificers” and *Mencius*, is also different from the design known to have been favored by the Bai Yue peoples.³⁸ Very little scholarship exists on Bai Yue urban planning, but some work has been done on their traditional design for flat, marshy land with an ample supply of water (such as the area in which Suzhou was built): the snail city. In this design, the entire city was created as a series of islands. The citadel at the center occupied one island, which was surrounded by a moat and guarded by high walls. It was protected by a network of close-packed outlying islands, also walled, that functioned as areas for housing and farming for the populace and also served to defend the main fastness in times of emergency. This design has a number of features that would endear it to so bellicose a people as those of the kingdom of Wu. In particular, a snail city is extremely difficult to attack. Unlike cities on dry land, which can be approached from any angle, a snail city can be attacked only along the preexisting canal or river network, and the defenders know exactly which route any attacker will take. This being the case, further fortifications may be constructed to protect these routes should these be deemed

necessary. Furthermore, any attacking force would have to take the citadel in order to capture the whole city. The attackers could gain access to the citadel only by sailing along a network of canals between the fortified outlying islands, potentially under constant hostile fire. The defenders of the outlying islands would be extremely difficult to besiege, given that they had farmland within the walled confines of their fortifications and an ample water supply. This kind of design made optimum use of the flat and marshy nature of the lands in which the Bai Yue lived along the coast of southern China and northern Vietnam.

There are a small number of surviving examples of this kind of urban design; one of the best preserved is Yancheng, in modern-day Jiangsu, located just a few kilometers south of the city of Changzhou. This magnificent example of a snail city consists of a main citadel surrounded by two other islands—the inner one surrounding the central citadel island entirely and the outer one wrapped around it, with a narrow entrance to the north-east—all constructed by digging canals.³⁹ This example is in exceptionally good shape because it happens to have enjoyed excellent conditions for preservation: Yancheng was never abandoned by its population, so the canals have been well maintained, and the villages on the outlying islands have remained small for the past two and a half millennia, making it possible to maintain the original intention of growing crops on these lands when the people were not required to man the defensive walls. Although Yancheng is a uniquely well-preserved example among China's snail cities, it would seem likely that a number of other preunification cities in the Wu-Yue region were built on similar principles. Of possible examples found in the territory of the ancient kingdom of Wu, the original form of the city of Wuxi recorded in premodern gazetteers is particularly striking—it, too, may well have begun in snail city form.⁴⁰

Further examples of this type of design survive in southern Bai Yue territory, such as Guluocheng in what is now northern Vietnam, some twenty kilometers northwest of Hanoi.⁴¹ This ancient city is said to have been founded by a monarch roughly contemporary with King Goujian of Yue. In this particular case, the central citadel island is protected by seven outlying islands. The largest and innermost island is wrapped around the citadel, surrounding it on all sides except to the south, and has a surviving defensive wall on the side facing away from the citadel. Access to the citadel from the south is protected by one small, narrow island. The remaining five outer islands, all of different shapes and sizes, provide further protection for the

citadel to the east, north, and west. As with the inner defensive island, these outer islands have a wall on the side facing away from the citadel. Although now largely abandoned, the site is well known and has been carefully maintained. A few more cities of a similar design have been identified, Chinese scholarship on this subject having particularly focused on the Ban Chiang and Ban Mung Fang archaeological sites in Thailand.⁴² It is likely that many more urban centers were built using this design; however, redevelopment and population pressure have completely obscured the original plan.

According to the appendix to *Record of the Lands of Wu*, the city of Suzhou was said to have been designed by Wu Zixu in the form of the character *ya*. This idea was subsequently reiterated in many gazetteers as the “correct” way of understanding the design of the city, even though the resemblance is not at all obvious. It is possible that this character was selected to suggest that the city was indeed designed to be bisected by two north-south highways and two east-west highways as per the “Record of Artificers” chapter, in spite of considerable evidence that such was not the case. However, some later accounts suggest that the inhabitants of the city were more inclined to think of Suzhou as being in the shape of a turtle’s shell. Gao Deji, the prefect of Suzhou in the 1350s, was one of the first persons to record this conception, in his book *Recorded Events in the History of Pingjiang*: “The city of Wu, according to ancient tradition, was constructed by [Wu] Zixu in the time of King Helü of Wu. That is why it was called Helü’s City. The walls are in the shape of the character *ya*, but ordinary people do not know that, so they think the city is the shape of a turtle.”⁴³

In his study of the design of the city of Suzhou, Yinong Xu suggests that this should be regarded as a *fengshui* interpretation, in spite of the fact that the turtle is not mentioned in any extant manual.⁴⁴ Rather than the somewhat forced extra-canonical explanation given in his book, the reason for the design may be a residual awareness of the original design of King Helü’s capital—from the very beginning, Suzhou was designed to consist of concentric rings defending the innermost area. To ordinary residents, familiar with the city through travel by waterways, Suzhou must have seemed to consist of island after island, arranged in irregular shapes but generally fitting into a concentric pattern, with the most vital area—the citadel—right at the center.

COMPARISONS: NATURAL LANDSCAPE FEATURES

Tales of the Lands of Wu contains a detailed description of the natural landscape features within the region formerly occupied by this ancient kingdom during the Eastern Han dynasty. This account seems to classify the features into two broad categories: mountains (*shan*) and rivers (*shui*). Twenty-one mountains and one large rock—specifically stated to have been a meteorite—are mentioned by name in the first category, while a much more complex portrayal is given of the water features to be found in the Wu region: three rivers, one group of sandbanks, seventeen lakes, two ponds, two streams, and two marshes. *Record of the Lands of Wu*, which describes the Tang dynasty Wu Commandery (a much smaller area than the ancient kingdom of Wu), shows an unsurprising diminution in the number of landscape features, with particular losses in the mountains and lakes categories. This reduction might be taken at face value were it not for the fact that the *Supplementary Records*, which describes an even smaller geographic area, gives a number of mountains and lakes very similar to that described in *Tales of the Lands of Wu* (see table 4.2).

TABLE 4.2: Landscape Features Recorded for the Wu Region

	TALES OF THE LANDS OF WU	RECORD OF THE LANDS OF WU	SUPPLEMENTARY RECORDS TO THE “ILLUSTRATED GUIDE TO WU COMMANDERY”
Mountains and hills	21	12	26
Rocks	1	1	4
Plants and trees	0	1	42
Rivers	3	6	10
Sandbanks	1	3	0
Lakes	17	6	16
Streams	2	1	1
Marshes	2	1	2

In understanding this kind of tabulation, there are clearly problems associated with the fact that the nomenclature used to describe particular landscape features changed enormously during the time span covered by these texts. In addition, the paucity of evidence from intervening centuries prevents readers of these three gazetteers from recognizing that the same site is being talked about in different contexts. It is also worth noting that

the table is deceptive in some cases. *Tales of the Lands of Wu* refers to a single named rock, the Falling Star Rock found at Mount Zuo'e in the kingdom of Wu. *Record of the Lands of Wu* also mentions one named rock, but in this case, it is the Stone Drum at Numinous Cliff Mountain; the meteorite has apparently disappeared. In this case, the problem is not one of boundaries, for Mount Zuo'e was still located within the borders of Wu Commandery in the Tang dynasty, and indeed *Record of the Lands of Wu* has an entry for it. It would seem that the compiler of *Record of the Lands of Wu* was not particularly interested in documenting landscape features unless they cropped up in a context that he found engaging—associated with a tomb, a shrine, or some kind of supernatural story—while any reader of the *Supplementary Records* would be well aware of the highly detailed documentation Zhu Changwen provided concerning the history of water management in and around the city of Suzhou. This is not particularly evident in table 4.2, except for the number of rivers listed, for the *Supplementary Records* does not appear to be significantly more detailed than the earlier account found in *Tales of the Lands of Wu*. However, table 4.2 concentrates only on natural water features; a list of canals, concourses, and other man-made waterways would instantly disclose the focus of the *Supplementary Records* on these important changes to the landscape.

One feature of the *Supplementary Records* is the focus on plants and trees (see table 4.2). Unlike other earlier gazetteers, Zhu Changwen's work contains an extremely detailed account of the flora of the region, naming forty-two species. This text also gives an extensive description of the avian and piscine life of Wu Commandery, which is unique in early gazetteers. In this context, it is instructive to compare the *Supplementary Records* to the Southern Song dynasty *Gazetteer for Wu Commandery*, which, though much longer (fifty fascicles compared to three in the *Supplementary Records*) lists barely half a dozen different plants. From the Southern Song dynasty onward, it became conventional to include a list of major local plants, particularly commercially important crops, as part of the "natural products," or *wuchan*, section, but few authors were as conscientious or as interested as Zhu Changwen in this aspect of the local history.⁴⁵ The emphasis on detailing plants and trees grown in the region along with the native birds and fish may therefore be regarded as one of the outstanding characteristics of this particular gazetteer.

Comparisons: Ancient Sites and Their Survival in Imperial Era China

The *Tales of the Lands of Wu* text included in the *Lost Histories of Yue* records a wide variety of ancient structures dating back to the founding of the city of Suzhou and beyond. In many cases, specific information is included as to the dating of individual sites, allowing for a relatively detailed and precise picture of the ancient remains that survived into the Eastern Han dynasty. Although the geographic location of the vast majority of these sites is indicated in an extremely unhelpful form, in terms of distance from the city center with no mention of direction, there is no reason to suppose that an Eastern Han dynasty reader, well acquainted with the region and its historical geography, would have been unable to identify the place in question. Only those sites recorded as being built during a specific historical era are included in table 4.3. The many undated buildings mentioned in *Tales of the Lands of Wu* cannot be tabulated.

TABLE 4.3: Dated Buildings Described in *Tales of the Lands of Wu*

	WU (?– 473 BCE)	YUE (473– C. 330 BCE)	CHU (C. 330– 222 BCE)	QIN (221– 207 BCE)	HAN (206 BCE– 52? CE)
Walled cities and fortresses	15	5	1	0	1
Gates	8	0	2	0	0
Palaces	1	1	1	0	0
Granaries and treasuries	0	0	4	0	0
Marketplaces	0	0	1	0	0
Prisons	0	0	1	0	0
Forges	1	0	0	0	0
Barracks	2	0	0	0	0
Official residences	0	0	1	0	0
Icehouses	1	0	0	0	0
Shrines	2	0	0	0	3
Tombs	11	2	2	0	0
Polders	0	1	1	0	0
Other	9	2	1	3	2
Total	50	11	15	3	6

Table 4.3 clarifies a number of characteristics of *Tales of the Lands of Wu*. The first is the extremely uneven distribution of information. Although the *Lost Histories of Yue* as a whole was compiled during the Han dynasty, and the most recent additions to *Tales of the Lands of Wu* were made during

this time, remarkably little contemporary information is given in this text. Instead, the major focus is on sites associated with the ancient kingdom of Wu. Not only are more buildings and structures recorded for this time, but *Tales of the Lands of Wu* mentions a much wider range of types of architecture. So little is known about the process of compilation and the sources used for this text that it is impossible to say whether *Tales of the Lands of Wu* was originally an account of the historical geography of the kingdom of Wu (probably produced not too long after the fall of the kingdom in 473 BCE), which was then updated periodically, or whether it was compiled from a number of different source texts of varying levels of detail, which would account for the variations. It should also be stressed that the information on the state of the city of Suzhou and the surrounding region while these lands were part of the kingdom of Chu refers only to the period when this was part of the fief of Lord Chunshen and his son. This pair engaged in a series of major building projects that had a noticeable effect on the appearance of the city. The situation that pertained during the rest of this era is not recorded.

It is instructive to compare the detailed picture of surviving ancient sites in *Tales of the Lands of Wu* to the portrayals in *Record of the Lands of Wu* and the *Supplementary Records*. This is of particular interest given the important role played by visiting and commemorating ancient sites in the creation of regional identity throughout the imperial era. These sites were usually associated with the glorious history of the region, when Suzhou was the capital of the powerful, independent kingdom of Wu at the end of the Spring and Autumn period. A truly vast body of literature was produced during the imperial era, both by locals and visitors, to commemorate the heritage of the region and applaud the beauties of sites associated with its former ruling house.⁴⁶ The preservation of ancient sites, even in a severely changed form, was crucial to allowing later generations to feel a real sense of connection with an era that was heavily romanticized within the mainstream Chinese literary and cultural tradition.

The first column in table 4.4 records the ancient sites mentioned in *Tales of the Lands of Wu* divided according to the regime or dynasty in power at the time of construction. The first number in the second column indicates the total number of sites mentioned in this text from each particular historical era. The second number (in parentheses) indicates the number of sites that are different from *Tales of the Lands of Wu*. One site from the Qin dynasty illustrates this point. The First Emperor of Qin is known to have made a progress to the south in the year 210 BCE. This is mentioned in his biography

in *Records of the Grand Historian* and is supposed to have been the occasion on which he erected a stone stele at Mount Kuaiji in Zhejiang. The stele bore a lengthy inscription concerning the iniquities of the former rulers, the virtues of the First Emperor, and the importance of chastity and fidelity for both men and women.⁴⁷ In *Record of the Lands of Wu*, the First Emperor of Qin is mentioned only once. He is said to have visited Tiger Hill with a view to robbing the tomb of King Helü of Wu of its treasures. According to this account, Sword Pond—one of the most famous sites on this hill—was created by turning the access pit into a decorative water feature. Although Sword Pond is also mentioned in *Tales of the Lands of Wu*, it is described as a natural part of the landscape and hence does not appear in the tabulation above. Given that it is reported to have been constructed, albeit inadvertently, by the First Emperor of Qin, it is listed as a new feature in table 4.4.

TABLE 4.4: Descriptions of Ancient Sites: A Comparison

	TALES OF THE LANDS OF WU	RECORD OF THE LANDS OF WU	SUPPLEMENTARY RECORDS TO THE “ILLUSTRATED GUIDE TO WU COMMANDERY”
Wu (?–473 BCE)	50	32 (12)	43 (7 + 7)
Yue (473–c. 330 BCE)	11	2	1 (0 + 1)
Chu (c. 330–221 BCE)	15	2 (1)	2 (1 + 0)
Qin (221–206 BCE)	3	1 (1)	1 (1 + 0)
Han (206 BCE–220 CE)	6	1	0
Total	85	38 (14)	47 (9 + 8)

The first figure in the third column of table 4.4 records the total number of sites for that historical period mentioned in the text. The first figure in the parentheses records the number of sites mentioned that also appear in *Record of the Lands of Wu*. The second figure in the parentheses records the number of new sites mentioned only in the *Supplementary Records* and not in any previous text. Therefore, of the eighty-five sites mentioned in *Tales of the Lands of Wu*, thirty-eight were still extant and recorded at the time of the Tang dynasty. Another fourteen “new” ancient sites are also recorded in this text, the vast majority associated with the kingdom of Wu. This is what one might expect, given the kingdom’s importance to maintaining a strong sense of local pride in the region. Although a number of sites are recorded for the centuries between 473 BCE and around 52 CE, *Record of the Lands of Wu* significantly downplays this period. Thirty-five sites in total are recorded

for this period in *Tales of the Lands of Wu*, whereas only six are mentioned in *Record of the Lands of Wu*, a difference of 83 percent. This loss is hardly offset by the addition of two new sites not described in the earlier text. In comparison, the *Supplementary Records* record forty-seven ancient sites. This increase over the number of sites in the earlier Tang dynasty text is not surprising considering that the author of this gazetteer was attempting to provide a comprehensive account of the region's historical geography. Nine of these forty-seven sites are also mentioned in *Record of the Lands of Wu*; eight are mentioned for the first time in the *Supplementary Records*. Again, the vast majority of sites mentioned are associated with the kingdom of Wu, and seven "new" ancient sites are recorded, but no new sites are added for the early imperial era. This suggests that from a relatively early stage, the romantic and glamorous history of the kingdom of Wu held such a stranglehold on the imaginations of both visitors and local residents that when they were creating a fictive association with the past for a particular site, this is the period they turned to.

Comparisons: Temples and Religious Patronage

The three gazetteers translated here paint a picture of religious life in the Wu region that is somewhat confused and almost certainly one-sided. *Tales of the Lands of Wu* records virtually no religious activities, with the exception of shrines dedicated to water gods by the kings of Wu and ancestral shrines dedicated to the memory of deceased Han emperors. These references are particularly striking given that the authors of the text are careful to specify that sacrifices to both had been discontinued at an earlier time. This means that the earliest surviving account of the landscape and architecture of the Wu region describes no ongoing religious activities of any kind. Meanwhile, *Record of the Lands of Wu* focuses exclusively on manifestations of Buddhist worship and the founding of temples and other religious institutions dedicated to this faith. Although the *Supplementary Records* improves on this situation somewhat by describing Daoist monasteries and temples, the vast majority of the religious structures mentioned are still Buddhist. These three gazetteers give no indication of popular religion and folk deities celebrated in Wu culture, though a number of ancient temples of this kind are known to have existed in the region. In particular, one of the oldest and most important such deities was Wu Zixu, the minister who served both King Helü and King Fuchai of Wu. A shrine dedicated to his memory is said to have been

constructed where his body was discovered after the last king of Wu had ordered it thrown into the river; this foundation is first recorded in *Records of the Grand Historian*.⁴⁸ Wu Zixu would become the focus of the Duanwu festival on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month (in opposition to the much more well-known Qu Yuan) in the Wu region,⁴⁹ and he would remain an extremely important water god in the Suzhou region for many centuries. At the very beginning of the Southern Song dynasty, when Emperor Gaozong was fleeing from the Jurchen, this deity was credited with calming a storm on Lake Tai that threatened to deliver his majesty into the hands of the enemy. In thanks for his preservation, the emperor would become an important sponsor of this cult.⁵⁰ Although this particular story lies outside the scope of this narrative, it is indicative of Wu Zixu's importance as a local deity at this time. No hint of this can be found in the three gazetteers translated here. Table 4.5 illustrates the religious bias of these early imperial gazetteers.

TABLE 4.5: Religious Buildings in the Wu Region (by dynasty)

	TALES OF THE LANDS OF WU	RECORD OF THE LANDS OF WU	SUPPLEMENTARY RECORDS TO THE "ILLUSTRATED GUIDE TO WU COMMANDERY"
Pre-Han	2	0	0
Han	4	0	1
Age of Disunion	-	19	29
Tang	-	1	10
Ten Kingdoms	-	-	2
Northern Song	-	-	4
Total	6	20	46
Total Buddhist Foundations	0	20 (100%)	34 (74%)

Note: This table covers only temples and shrines with a known date of foundation.

The Liang dynasty was an era of great importance for the Buddhist faith in Suzhou. Table 4.6 records the seventeen temples founded during this time in the Wu region alone. In the case of the city of Suzhou, the small body of temples constructed by order of the founder of the Liang dynasty, Emperor Wu, was augmented by temples founded by other individuals, in many cases statesmen and senior government officials from the Liang court. In this group of fifteen temples, three are recorded as having been personally established by the emperor, and another five are attributed to members of his

court. Some of these Liang dynasty foundations have survived to the present day, including Requiring Kindness, Accumulated Treasures, Brilliant Blessings, and Puming Chan Buddhist Hall (better known as Cold Mountain or Hanshan Temple).⁵¹ Of these, only one was founded by the emperor; for the other surviving Liang dynasty religious foundations, the founders' identities are not known. Gazetteers recorded very little information about Buddhist foundations established by non-royals, indeed by persons not of the ruling elite, often leaving the dates of foundation and the identities of the people who established them unknown (see table 4.6, bottom).

As table 4.6 documents only temple construction, however, it provides

TABLE 4.6: Buddhist Temple Construction in Wu Commandery during the Liang Dynasty

NAME OF TEMPLE	FOUNDER OF TEMPLE	RANK OF FOUNDER	DATE
Requiring Kindness	Liang Wudi	Emperor	—
Accumulating Good Karma and Praying for Blessings	Liang Wudi	Emperor	504
Gathered Illumination	Huixiang / Emperor Wu	Imperial Spiritual Adviser / Emperor	—
Flowing Waters	Lu Xiang/ Qingxian	Marquis of Yugan County / cleric	—
Massed Primordial Essence	Lu Sengzan	Chamberlain of the Court for the Palace Garrison	503
Yongding	Gu Yanxian	Censor of Suzhou	504
Meditation	Zhang Rong	Minister of Education	504
Solitary Garden	Wu Meng	Cavalier Attendant in Ordinary	—
Manifest Wisdom Chan Buddhist Hall	Wu Guang	—	—
Transcendent Lady	Lu Family	—	—
Siyi	—	—	503
Agarikon	—	—	503
Elegant Peak	—	—	—
Brilliant Blessings	—	—	535–546
Water Moon Chan Buddhist Hall	—	—	—
Puming Chan Buddhist Hall ¹	—	—	502–519
Accumulated Treasures ¹	—	—	502–519

- 1 Mentioned in *Tales of the Lands of Wu*, *Record of the Lands of Wu*, or *Supplementary Records to the “Illustrated Guide to Wu Commandery”* but not explicitly stated as having been founded during the Liang dynasty.

a far from complete picture of the religious patronage of the age; later local histories and gazetteers record numerous other ways in which the ruling elite of the time demonstrated their faith, ranging from the presentation of calligraphic inscriptions to temples, gifts of religious objects, and the production of Buddhist writings. The actions of the emperor and many other members of the elite attesting to the strength of their belief in Buddhist salvation would have a permanent effect on the landscape of the region. Suzhou and the surrounding area were famous throughout the rest of the imperial era for the wealth, antiquity, and number of their Buddhist temples, and much of this religious fervor can be traced back to the active promotion of the faith during the Liang dynasty.

Comparisons: Crime and Punishment

While gazetteers are often goldmines of information on the administration, history, customs, and culture of a particular region, early gazetteers often shy away from dealing with the issue of criminality among the population, despite the fact that this was a major cause for concern among both local people and government officials. Although it might be imagined that gazetteers could be used to alert officials at the local and national levels to the particular problems pertaining in a locale, this seems not to have been the case during the early imperial era. Until texts such as the 1594 *Album of the Famished* (Jimin tushuo) by Yang Dongming were produced in the late Ming dynasty, crime was not addressed seriously in gazetteers and local histories.⁵² Many earlier gazetteers ignore these problems entirely, perhaps because authors were hoping to glorify their region and hence neglected to mention the existence of endemic criminality or simply because early imperial gazetteers are comparatively short and other issues were regarded as more deserving of coverage. Given the demands of space—compressing many centuries of information into just a couple of fascicles—the decision to leave out discussions of banditry and other forms of criminal activity was probably quite uncontroversial.⁵³ *Tales of the Lands of Wu* incorporates a most unusual reference to a preunification prison and credits Lord Chunshen with the construction of this building. That Lord Chunshen was prepared to build a large prison in his fief argues that law-and-order problems must have been serious enough in the city of Suzhou during his tenure to warrant such a project. The nature of these problems, however, remains unclear. In contrast, *Record of the Lands of Wu* contains no references to

criminality of any kind. Terms such as “bandit” (*zei*) are periodically found in this gazetteer, as in other early imperial examples, but are used to refer to rebels rather than criminals per se.

The *Supplementary Records* provides a much more detailed picture of the criminality rampant in the region during the Song dynasty (and no doubt for many centuries before) by adding one crucial bit of information: the marshy areas around the city of Kunshan were infested not only with bandits but with salt smugglers. Given that salt was a highly lucrative government monopoly throughout much of the period discussed in these three gazetteers, salt smuggling no doubt made many criminals extremely wealthy.⁵⁴ The wretched purchasers of this commodity had no choice but to pay the exorbitant price asked. Not only was salt recognized early as crucial to maintaining human health; it was also the only readily available food preservative and hence vital to preventing starvation in winter. The breakdown in law and order represented by banditry and smuggling was important in shaping the lives of many individuals throughout Chinese history, affecting everyone from the ruler on down. One of the most famous early tales of banditry concerns the encounter between King Zhao of Chu (r. 515–489 BCE), who was forced out of his capital by the invading forces of King Helü of Wu, and the bandits that lived in the Yunmeng Marshes. In this instance, the trauma of his majesty’s encounter with these criminals would remain with him for many years: “The king of Chu forded the Sui River and then crossed the Yangzi River, entering the Yun[meng Marshes]. The king was fast asleep when the bandits attacked him, stabbing at his majesty with a halberd. The royal grandson Youyu protected the king with his own back and thus was stabbed in the shoulder.”⁵⁵

Although military action is generally extremely well described in gazetteers, banditry as well as the activities of rebels against a particular government were often recorded only as they affected individuals. The lack of this kind of criminal record in these early gazetteers for Suzhou does not mean that there were no cases to record; the Southern Song dynasty *Gazetteer for Wu Commandery* provides a number of tantalizing references to the victims of crime in the early imperial era, not to mention efforts to police the situation. So, for example, in the late Han dynasty, Zhu Huan is said to have made his name by pacifying mountain bandits, and during the Tang dynasty, Lu Xisheng, a scion of the distinguished Lu family of Suzhou, is said to have written a memorial to the emperor, alerting him to the problems caused by local “robbers and bandits” (*daozei*).⁵⁶ In the “Exemplary Women” (Lienü) section of the *Gazetteer for Wu Commandery*, Fan Chengda included the

story of Lü Rong and her husband Xu Sheng, who encountered bandits during the Han-Wu dynasty transition era. The *Gazetteer for Wu Commandery* gives what would seem to be two completely different accounts of Lü Rong's fate, the text having been arranged to disguise the fact that the wretched woman fell in with bandits not once but twice. The first, derived from the "Biographies of Exemplary Women" chapter of the *History of the Later Han Dynasty*, provides an unusual account of this gentry couple's extremely difficult marriage, made worse by her family's open loathing for her husband and efforts to persuade her to get a divorce. According to this text, shortly after the couple had reconciled, Xu Sheng was murdered by a bandit. Later, when the bandit was captured, Lü Rong personally cut off the head of her husband's killer and offered it as a sacrifice to Xu Sheng's memory.⁵⁷ Subsequently, bandits attacked again, and this time Lü Rong became a victim herself. The account of these events in the *Gazetteer for Wu Commandery* is derived not from the *History of the Later Han Dynasty* but from the *Essential Mirror of the Pivot of Literature* (Wenshu jingyao), an otherwise completely unknown text, which conflates these events: "The exemplary woman Lü Rong from Wu Commandery was the wife of Xu Sheng. When Sheng was killed by bandits, they wanted to rape her. Rong defended her virtue and refused to listen to them, so they murdered her. That day there was thunder and rain as the sky grew dark. The bandits were frightened, and so they kowtowed and apologized to the corpse and buried it. Afterward, the censor named this place Righteous Wife Bank."⁵⁸

The sparse surviving records of criminality in the Wu region from the early imperial period mean that this aspect of the daily lives of residents is not properly understood. It is likely that the activities of criminals made the lives of many residents miserable. The evidence lies in scattered stories like that of the unfortunate Lü Rong of the Eastern Han dynasty; however, these records do little to indicate how widespread the problem was in different historical eras, nor are there more than a handful of instances in which government or private efforts to restore law and order are recorded. As a result, it is possible only to speculate that there were significant problems of endemic criminality in Wu society, due to considerable social inequality and periodic disruption by warfare and natural disaster.

Comparisons: War and Natural Disasters

The city of Suzhou and the surrounding Wu region were afflicted, as were

other parts of the Chinese empire, by many wars and natural disasters. Warfare is not commonly included as a specific category to be covered in the standard late imperial gazetteer; nevertheless, many works in this genre do carry considerable information about the destruction caused by war and the sufferings of the civilian population, as well as biographies of key individuals involved in both the attack on and the defense of the region concerned. Gazetteers for the Wu region, including the three translated here, contain much information about the ravages of war in this area but may also be described as governed by unusual constraints. *Record of the Lands of Wu* was written after the sack of the city of Suzhou by Wang Ying and looks back on the state that pertained when the region was at peace. Meanwhile, in the *Supplementary Records*, Zhu Changwen was attempting to present Suzhou as a kind of earthly paradise, as did many other Song dynasty and later writers from the region. Under the circumstances, it is natural for this text to stress the wealth of the city, the beautiful gardens and lavish buildings, the peaceful nature of its inhabitants, and the cultural legacy expressed in evocative poems composed by many of the finest poets in Chinese history. It would be out of place to dwell on the periodic ravages inflicted on the city by the brutal realities of warfare. The image of a peaceful and wealthy place, inhabited by refined and well-educated people, would be much fostered in later gazetteers for Suzhou. This can be seen, for example, in the introduction to the chapter “Peace and Chaos” (Pingluan) in Wang Ao’s *Gazetteer for Gusu*:

Su[zhou] is a paradise in the southeast. Ever since the Qin dynasty, it has happened that from time to time there have been powerful men who have attempted to seize power and launch coups against the throne, but in every case they were defeated and were not able even to save their own lives. Surely this cannot be caused by the lie of the land as well? Now I have thoroughly researched all the historical texts and books recording old traditions [that I could find]. Wicked ministers and vicious sons can take a warning from this!⁵⁹

Wang Ao was every bit as fervent as Zhu Changwen in his belief that the history of the Wu region was one of habitual peace, broken occasionally by the violence unleashed by wicked and vicious men. The *Gazetteer for Gusu* mentions sixteen rebellions and uprisings during the imperial era but does not cover the warfare that blighted the lives of residents of the Wu region before the unification of China. This bellicose period might be regarded as

negating all assertions made by later authors as to the innately peace-loving and refined nature of the local people. When Wang Ao listed the rebellions he chose to cover for the pre-Southern Song era, he focused largely on the most significant events, those that affected not just the local area but the entire country, in some cases even changing the history of China.⁶⁰ All but one of these, the wars unleashed by the collapse of the Tang dynasty, which ended when the Qian family founded the Wuyue dynasty in 907, fall within the scope of both *Record of the Lands of Wu* and the *Supplementary Records*. However, a number of these wars and rebellions are not mentioned in either gazetteer (as shown in table 4.7).

Warfare repeatedly ravaged the Wu region during the early imperial era. As mentioned, this list of sixteen major pre-Southern Song dynasty uprisings and rebellions is heavily weighted toward events of national significance. For this reason, the first campaign, led by Xiang Liang (d. 208 BCE) and his nephew Xiang Yu (232–202 BCE), is included. Although the wars fought by Xiang Yu in particular at the time of the collapse of the Qin dynasty took place on distant battlefields, according to his biography in *Records of the Grand Historian*, his ambitions were first stirred by the sight of the First Emperor of China visiting Mount Kuaiji on an imperial progress. Mount Kuaiji is located some distance to the south of the city of Suzhou, but this region was part of Kuaiji Commandery at the time, and as such, Wang Ao and his coauthors seem to have felt justified in incorporating this famous episode into the history of the Wu region: “The First Emperor of Qin went on a progress to Kuaiji, crossing the Zhejiang River. [Xiang] Liang and [Xiang Yu] both watched this. [Xiang Yu] said: ‘He could be captured and replaced.’ [Xiang] Liang put his hand over his mouth and said: ‘Don’t speak wildly or our whole family will be executed!’ From this time onward, [Xiang] Liang felt that there was something remarkable about [Xiang Yu].”⁶¹

Liu Bi, the king of Wu, is mentioned for his role in the construction of the Jiangcu walled city in *Records of the Lands of Wu*, and the *Supplementary Records* quotes the text of a memorial presented to him. Neither text notes the key role he played in the revolt of the Seven Kings or his ignominious demise at its end. Three of the conflicts included in Wang Ao’s list occurred during the reign of the mentally handicapped Emperor An of the Jin dynasty. In 397, the famous statesman and calligrapher Wang Xin, who then held the title Minister of Education and Left Administrator of a Princedom, happened to be in Wu Commandery purely by chance, because of the death of his mother, when he was called upon to lead the defense of the region against incursions

TABLE 4.7: Descriptions of Warfare in the Wu Region: A Comparison

DATE	EVENT	RECORD OF THE LANDS OF WU	SUPPLEMENTARY RECORDS TO THE “ILLUSTRATED GUIDE TO WU COMMANDERY”
209 BCE	Xiang Liang and Xiang Yu rebel against the Qin dynasty	No	No
154 BCE	Liu Bi, King of Wu, rebels against the Han dynasty.	No	No
327 CE	Su Jun rebels against Yu Liang, regent for Emperor Cheng of Jin	Yes	No
397	Wang Xin dies defending Qu'e against the forces of the rebel Wang Gong	No	No
398	Sun En rebels against Sima Yuanxian, regent for Emperor An of Jin	Yes	No
403	Huan Xuan, Duke of Nan Commandery, rebels against Emperor An of Jin	No	No
498	Zhang Gui, Prefect of Wu, attempts to defeat the popular Wang Jingze	No	No
548	Hou Jing rebels against the Liang dynasty, causing it to collapse	No	No
589	Xiao Huan, a member of the Liang royal house, attempts to reestablish the dynasty	No	No
613	The Sui general Wang Shichong puts Wuxi to the sword	No	Yes
620	Du Fuwei surrenders the Wu region to the Tang dynasty	No	No
674	Li Zangyong leads the people of Suzhou to put down the rebellion of Liu Zhan	No	No
807	Li Qi rebels against the authority of Tang Xianzong	No	No
876	Wang Ying rebels against the Tang dynasty, sacks Suzhou	Yes	No
886	Yang Maoshi, Censor of Suzhou, is captured by bandits	—	Yes
907	The Qian family establishes the Wuyue dynasty	—	Yes

by Wang Gong.⁶² Although victorious in the battle of Qu'e, Wang Xin was never seen alive again and is generally believed to have fallen in this action. The following year, Sun En rebelled against Yu Liang, while in 403, Huan Xuan (369–404) forced Emperor An of Jin to abdicate in his favor, declaring himself Emperor Wudao, the first ruler of the Chu dynasty.⁶³ Huan Xuan's inclusion as a Wu region rebel seems to have come about as a result of the famous comment he made while serving in a minor government position near Lake Tai. He compared his own position unfavorably with that of his late father, the paramount Jin general Huan Wen (312–373), who had held enormous power within the regime: "The father was hegemon over the Nine Domains, but the son is the headman of the Five Lakes."⁶⁴

Huan Xuan's rebellion seems to have had little impact on the city of Suzhou or the surrounding region. Such fighting as took place occurred either in the north, around the region of the Jin dynasty capital (modern-day Nanjing), or within the confines of his fiefdom, given his title Duke of Nan Commandery (Nan Jun Gong). The short-lived rebellion by Wang Jingze, the prefect of Kuaiji Commandery, against the paranoid Emperor Ming of the Southern Qi (r. 492–498) was provoked by his suspicion that the emperor was about to order his execution. After he announced that he supported the claim to the throne of a different member of the royal family, the rebellion was quickly put down by the imperial army. Wang Jingze was executed and his head sent to the capital. The first line of defense was provided by the prefect of Wu Commandery, Zhang Gui, who had been specially appointed by his majesty to deal with this very eventuality.⁶⁵ Zhang Gui, a native of Wu Commandery, attempted to block Wang Jingze's advance at the Songjiang River, only to suffer a disastrous defeat, which forced him to go into hiding among the local populace as tens of thousands of people flocked to the banner of the highly popular prefect of Kuaiji. The details of this campaign in the *Gazetteer for Gusu* are unique to this text.⁶⁶

Hou Jing is now notorious as the general who brought the Liang dynasty to its knees, a warlord who captured the capital and brought about the death of Emperor Wu of Liang. Most of the fighting took place elsewhere, but Wu Commandery was directly affected on a couple of occasions. First, in 549, Hou Jing's forces took prisoner (and later killed) Yuan Junzheng, the recalcitrant prefect of Wu Commandery,⁶⁷ replacing him in that same year with one of Hou Jing's appointees, Su Chanyu.⁶⁸ The new prefect was almost immediately murdered by a person named Lu Ji, described in all accounts of these events as a "Wu bandit" (*Wu dao*). Lu Ji raised a small armed force and

launched a successful surprise attack on the commandery seat. Later, in the wake of his defeat at Jinling in 552, Hou Jing fled to Wu Commandery. When he was intercepted and attacked on the Song River by General Hou Tian, he was reduced to just two hundred boats and a couple of thousand men. Hou Tian defeated them in this engagement, and Hou Jing and a couple dozen of his most trusted men fled in a single boat. Supposedly Hou Jing drowned two of his children at this time, though the reason for this drastic action is nowhere recorded. At this point, nothing could save him. Hou Jing's brother-in-law killed him and delivered the body into the hands of his enemies.⁶⁹

Although the Liang dynasty may be said to have officially survived Hou Jing's attack, it endured only in the form of the much weaker Western Liang state. The last emperor of the Western Liang, Emperor Jing (r. 585–587), was largely a puppet of the Sui regime. Suspicious of the Sui rulers, Emperor Jing's brother, Xiao Huan (569–589), surrendered to the Chen dynasty in 587 and received a series of official appointments, including censor of Wu Prefecture, the contemporaneous designation of Wu Commandery.⁷⁰ Xiao Huan seems to have enjoyed considerable popularity within the Wu region, and the people there acclaimed him as their ruler when the Chen dynasty fell in 589. This provoked the first Sui emperor to appoint General Yuwen Shu (d. 616) to take charge of the campaign against him.⁷¹ After battles fought at Lake Tai and in Suzhou itself, Xiao Huan made his last stand at Mount Bao. There he found himself under attack from the Sui general Yan Rong (d. 603).⁷² After yet another defeat, Xiao Huan attempted to hide in a local person's home. He was discovered, arrested, and taken to Chang'an for execution.

In 620, the warlord Du Fuwei, who had seized control of the Wu region, surrendered without a fight to the Tang dynasty, earning himself the title King of Wu and the imperially bestowed surname Li. It is perhaps surprising that these events were included in the *Gazetteer for Gusu* chapter on violent rebellions against the government in Suzhou and the surrounding area, since the most salient characteristic of Du Fuwei's surrender is that it spared the region much suffering. Half a century later, however, the Liu Zhan rebellion broke out. As a result of the pusillanimity of the campaign commander Li Huan (d. 763), the defense of the Jiangnan region initially went extremely badly.⁷³ Li Zangyong's trenchant comments on his superior officer's lack of courage are reported in a number of accounts of these events.⁷⁴ He attempted to organize resistance to Liu Zhan's advance with an army composed of a reported seven hundred soldiers and some three thousand volunteers from Suzhou. Unfortunately, when Li Zangyong met Liu Zhan's general Zhang

Jingchao in battle, he was defeated. Zhang Jingchao proceeded to capture the city of Suzhou, and the rebels held the city until the following year, when they were defeated by government forces.⁷⁵ Although early gazetteers do not mention these events, some damage must have been inflicted on the city of Suzhou and the surrounding area, which saw numerous battles between the enemy and government forces in 674–675.

In the next Tang dynasty rebellion, Li Qi (741–807) was a distant member of the ruling house and held the position of military commissioner (*jiedushi*) of Zhexi.⁷⁶ When Emperor Xianzong (r. 805–820) attempted to assert his authority over his dangerously powerful military commissioners, Li Qi rebelled. He ordered his subordinates to kill the officials in the five prefectures under his control, but the only one who succeeded was a man named Yao Zhian, who did indeed take the censor Li Su prisoner at Su Prefecture (Suzhou). According to a number of texts, the court had originally tried to appoint Du Jian to this position, but he had refused, stating that sooner or later Li Qi would rebel, which would result in his entire family being murdered.⁷⁷ The government apparently accepted this excuse, allowing Du Jian to retain his position as director of the Ministry of Personnel and sending the unfortunate Li Su instead. In this rebellion and that of Wang Ying in 876, the city of Suzhou must have suffered considerable damage, but little is known of what exactly occurred or what casualties were inflicted.

The final conflict that falls within the scope of this study is the warfare that began in the Wu region at the time of the collapse of the Tang dynasty and ended in 907 with the founding of the Wuyue dynasty. Although a number of the key figures in this conflict are mentioned in the *Supplementary Records* (as indicated in table 4.7), the events are significantly more complicated than these brief references suggest. Trouble began in the Wu region in the year 886, when Zhang Yu, the general sent by Zhou Bao, the military commissioner of Zhexi, to deal with a nest of bandits in the vicinity of Kunshan, rebelled and took to ravaging the countryside. The situation was not improved by the fact that the censor of Su Prefecture, Wang Yun, had made no defensive preparations, and thus Zhang Yu was able to establish a base in Changshu County.⁷⁸ Although Zhang Yu's rebellion was crushed the following year, this was not the end of Zhou Bao's troubles. His son-in-law, Yang Maoshi, was an intensely unpopular censor of Suzhou. (The *Supplementary Records* hints darkly at shamanic ceremonies and devil worship conducted under his auspices, while other accounts mention the crippling high level of taxation he imposed on the unfortunate people of the region.)⁷⁹ Eventu-

ally Yang Maoshi was forced to flee when a military official, Xu Yue, attacked Suzhou. Xu Yue then offered tribute to Qian Liu, the future founder of the Wuyue dynasty, but retained effective control of the region. This situation lasted until Qian Liu was powerful enough to bring the region under direct government control.⁸⁰ The Wu region seems to have become a battleground at this time, and every record describes appalling suffering and destruction as the city of Suzhou was repeatedly sacked by local warlords and bandits. The establishment of the Wuyue dynasty brought peace to the region, and given that the last king surrendered peacefully to the Song dynasty, the inhabitants of Suzhou seem to have been able to flourish undisturbed until the Jurchen sack of the city in 1130.

Although war is relatively well recorded in gazetteers dealing with the early history of the city of Suzhou, the same is not true of natural disasters. *Tales of the Lands of Wu*, *Record of the Lands of Wu*, and *Supplementary Records to the "Illustrated Guide to Wu Commandery"* make no mention of famine and disease. Only one serious conflagration is mentioned in any gazetteer: the one that gutted the citadel in 236 BCE, when the guards lighting lamps for a banquet set the palace on fire. The Wu region, characterized by its multitude of waterways and the riverine lifestyle of the inhabitants might be expected to have its periodic droughts and floods well documented in the gazetteers that describe it, but for the early and medieval periods, this is not the case. Water management, whether too much or too little, was an issue of crucial importance for the government of the region, yet neither *Tales of the Lands of Wu* nor *Record of the Lands of Wu* give this impression. Not until the *Supplementary Records* was an adequate account of the importance of water management included in a gazetteer for Suzhou, and even then, it is almost completely silent on the dates and severity of flooding or drought. (The *Supplementary Records* does mention three or four particularly bad floods but gives no dates for droughts.) As a result, comparatively little is known about the early history of any natural disasters in Suzhou.

Conclusion

IN many books that discuss the history of urban planning in China, one pair of illustrations is common. Both depict Suzhou, but one is the Southern Song dynasty “Map of Pingjiang” and the other is an aerial photograph taken by a U.S. Air Force reconnaissance plane in 1945. This juxtaposition of images separated by eight centuries would seem to suggest that this ancient city has been frozen in time, that nothing has changed over many hundreds of years. This impression of the development of Suzhou during the late imperial era is entirely erroneous; furthermore, as study of the gazetteers translated here shows, Suzhou was always in a process of transformation. As the centuries passed, new roads were laid out; canals were dug, silted up, and dredged again; some buildings collapsed, others burned down, and sometimes were not replaced. At the same time, the materials used in construction changed—for example, the red-painted wooden railings of Tang dynasty bridges were replaced with Song dynasty stone. The Han dynasty *Tales of the Lands of Wu* seems to record a huge empty city, with villages clustering inside the great walls of King Helü of Wu’s ancient capital, and the Tang dynasty *Record of the Lands of Wu* describes a bustling urban environment, with streets punctuated by magnificent Buddhist temples. By the time *Supplementary Records to the “Illustrated Guide to Wu Commandery”* was written in the Northern Song dynasty, Suzhou’s reputation as a city of exceptional natural beauty was well established; Zhu Changwen could look back to its glorious past as the capital city of the kingdom of Wu, the site of the romance between the superlatively beautiful Xi Shi and the doomed last king of Wu. At the same time, he could record in loving detail more recent triumphs: the famous works of literature written to commemorate the beauties of Suzhou by some of China’s greatest poets, the statesmen and men of letters that the city produced in such abundance, the fine gardens,

luxurious homes, and delicious food that made the place little less than an earthly paradise.

Though there are many other cities in China as ancient or even older than Suzhou, there is nevertheless something remarkable about this one city, intended by the great King Helü of Wu to impress all who saw it with his power and majesty. Although no records survive to describe the original planning principles, it is clear that this city was not (as has so often been suggested) built according to the principles set down in the “Record of Artificers” chapter of the *Rites of Zhou*. Likewise, a consideration of the salient characteristics of Chinese city planning during the imperial era suggests that Suzhou was not strongly influenced by these standards either. However, the theory that the original design of this city was influenced by traditional Bai Yue urban planning, in the form of the “snail city,” is also problematic. One of the major issues with relating Suzhou—where the old city has been occupied by a large population (attaining a peak of 680,000 inhabitants recorded in the 1983 census) and subject to the vicissitudes of history—to this type of design is that the area inside the city walls has been heavily redeveloped over the centuries, resulting in major changes to the urban landscape. This has served to obscure much of the original design of the city; for example, the citadel area was razed in 1374 by order of the first Ming emperor, and the surrounding canal network was filled in during the 1930s as part of a major road-building campaign. This kind of permanent change to this area of the city is not unique. Given that such huge changes have regularly been implemented, and those that took place during the early imperial era were often unrecorded, it is hardly surprising that the original design of this ancient city has been much obscured. Any suggestions as to the principles motivating urban planning in the kingdom of Wu should be regarded as speculative; so little evidence remains to the present day that it is impossible to make more than suggestions as to the original appearance of King Helü’s capital city.

The three gazetteers translated here are landmarks in the history of gazetteer writing. But their importance in the development of this genre should not obscure the fact that even though they provide lengthy accounts of the history and development of the city of Suzhou (and indeed the surrounding area), they tell us very little about what the city actually looked like. As studies of the urbanization of Suzhou have demonstrated, the city did not develop within the confines of the ancient walls and moats, conforming to the shape originally laid down by its founders; instead, significant suburban

construction took place outside the walls (most notably in the northwest, on the flat plain between the old city and Tiger Hill) long before the inner city area was even close to being fully populated. While the city buildings had to be constructed in conformity with the road and canal network within the confines of the great walls, the suburban sprawl that developed from the Age of Disunion onward grew in a much more organic form. Thus, no study of the development of this city can be complete without reference to the relationship between the strictly planned center and the extramural areas, nor is it possible to understand the urban management of Suzhou without considering that there were both densely populated areas and significant amounts of farmland and wasteland within the walls. This made it impossible to enforce standard regulations among the inhabitants of the city during much of the imperial era; the tiny population of some districts within the walls made it unfeasibly expensive, for example, to impose the ward system standard in so many Chinese cities. The administration of Suzhou in the early imperial era was perforce much more nuanced and sensitive to the demands of residents than might appear.

The three gazetteers translated in this book provide a wealth of information about the history of the city of Suzhou. In addition to providing detailed accounts of the landscape of this important ancient city and the surrounding region, they are also—particularly *Record of the Lands of Wu* and *Supplementary Records to the “Illustrated Guide to Wu Commandery”*—works of literature in their own right, carefully crafted to present a particular point of view. As such, they are not obligated to provide a comprehensive account of the changes that took place within the time frame that they cover; what is more, the interests of the authors of these two accounts militate against the production of a simple catalog of construction and demolition as this landscape suffered the ravages of time and warfare. *Tales of the Lands of Wu* is a highly eclectic text, its coverage extremely sporadic, though whether this represents the vagaries of authorial interest or different textual layers is still unclear. Lu Guangwei, the editor of *Record of the Lands of Wu*, was concerned with producing an account of the city of Suzhou and surrounding region that recorded the splendors of Wu before the devastation unleashed by Wang Ying’s rebellion. At the same time, his own interests very firmly directed him toward recording the magnificent Buddhist temples that emperors, senior ministers, and grandees had ordered constructed in the Wu region. While much of this information is extremely interesting (and, in many instances, unobtainable elsewhere), the author’s Buddhist inclina-

tions made him unwilling to provide similarly detailed accounts of religious institutions attached to other faiths, no matter how ancient they might be or how distinguished their founders. Zhu Changwen, in contrast, had a quite different agenda in writing the *Supplementary Records*, though it would have an effect on textual production equal to that of Lu Guangwei. In the *Supplementary Records*, the account given of the city of Suzhou is eulogistic—references to the many difficulties faced by residents during the city's history in terms of banditry and other kinds of criminality, flooding and drought, and warfare are obscured by the overwhelming praise of the city's beauty and wealth. The specific interests and concerns of the authors of *Record of the Lands of Wu* and the *Supplementary Records* had a demonstrable effect on their writings.

The role of gazetteers has traditionally been to provide information of use to administrators, officials based either in the locale or in the central government. From the late Qing dynasty onward, older gazetteers came to be regarded as important sources of historical information, as they documented changes in the landscape and architecture of the region and the biographies of local worthies. Although perhaps too insignificant to be recorded in official histories of the dynasty, or the great empirewide works of geography, such documentation was nevertheless recognized as being of considerable interest. The three earliest surviving gazetteers for the city of Suzhou record the first 1,500 years of its history. After these books were written, many more texts documented the development of the city during the later imperial era and into modern times. Although never a capital city again after the fall of the kingdom of Wu, the city of Suzhou has retained a unique place not only within the history of Chinese urban planning but also within local history writing. Of all the cities in China, Suzhou is the one that we know the most about.

Bai Juyi served as prefect of Suzhou from 825 to 827 and wrote many works expressing his great love for the city. The following poem was written just before he was due to leave his posting.

After Looking at the Nighttime View from Gathering Clouds Gazebo, I Was Inspired to Compose Ten Couplets on the Occasion of Seeing Off the Expectant Official Mr. Feng and the Two Directors of Imperial Music Mr. Zhou and Mr. Yin

I am growing old and have no intention of continuing to serve as an official;
I am worn out—the best years of my life are now past.
I am about to say good-bye and leave these southern lands;

Again and again, I climb the northern wall to see [the view].
Piled up, peak upon peak, are the mountain fastnesses above the rivers;
Rolling out in an endless vista, the hamlets and villages spread far and wide.
The people are numerous, far more than in Yang[zhou] Prefecture;
The wards and markets would cover half of Chang'an.
Piercing the fog, the tops of the mountain peaks disappear;
Through the mist, the sun is obscured.
The light on the waters glitters ruby red;
The color of the trees is an all-pervasive green.
It seems as though I will retain my affection [for this place] forever;
I certainly intend to remember my happiness in days past.
It is easy to give up one's government position on the grounds of ill health,
But it is hard to say good-bye to one's friends when one grows old.
It is the ninth month, and there is no heat left [in the sun],
Yet the winds from the west have not yet grown chill.
At the Gathering Clouds Gazebo, I face north;
For half the day, I lean against the railings.¹

Notes

INTRODUCTION

- 1 Zheng and Jia, *Zhouli zhushu*, 835 [“Waishi”]
- 2 Zhang Xuecheng, *Wenshi tongyi*, 452 [“Yongqingxian zhi liezhuan xuli”] and 506 [“Wei Zhang Jifu Sima xuan Damingxian zhi xu”], respectively.
- 3 Luo Xiaosheng, “Zhongguo difangzhi tanyuan”; see also Lin, “Fangzhixue yuanliu shulun”; and Wang Gang, “Lüetan difangzhi.”
- 4 Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 29.1405–15; Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, 28.1523–674; Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, 19–23.3385–554. See also Mansvelt Beck, *The Treatises of the Later Han*, 175–195.
- 5 Lü Zhiyi, “Fangzhi qiyuan yanjiu”; and Xu Qinggen, “Songren dui difangzhi qiyuan de zhishi.” For English-language translations, see Birrell, *The Classic of Mountains and Seas*; and Strassberg, *A Chinese Bestiary*.
- 6 Apart from the two chapters in the *Lost Histories of Yue*, one other much disputed text survives that may be of comparable antiquity—*The Capitol and Royal Domain* (Sanfu huangtu), which describes the landscape and architecture of the capital in the Qin and Han dynasties. The date of this text is the subject of much controversy. Miao Changyan, who collated the work in 1153, was the first to propose that it may derive from the late Han dynasty. See Miao Changyan, “Sanfu huangtu xu,” quoted in He, *Sanfu huangtu jiaoshi*, 5. Chao Gongwu (1105–1180) suggested that it derives from the Liang-Chen dynasties; see Sun Meng, *Junzhai dushu jiaozheng*, 346 [“Dili-lei”]. Cheng Dachang (*Yonglu*, 1.7a–8a) believes it to be a Tang dynasty text.
- 7 The issue of the dating of the *Lost Histories of Yue* is significantly complicated by later accretions; see Chen Qiaoyi, “Dianjiaoben Yuejue shu xu,” 12. For a detailed study of the dating of individual chapters, see Zhou Shengchun, “Yuejue shu chengshu niandai ji zuozhe xintan.” For an alternative discussion of dating and a complete translation of the entire text, see Milburn, *The Glory of Yue*.
- 8 For the importance of the *Lost Histories of Yue* in the development of the gazetteer, see Bi Yuan, “*Li quanxian jiuzhi xu*,” 982; and Zhu Shijia, “Zhongguo difangzhi de qiyuan, tezheng ji qi shiliao jiazhi,” 2. See also Henry, “The Submerged History of Yue,” 28–33.
- 9 Chen Qiaoyi, “*Tu jing zai woguo dizhishi zhong de zhongyao diwei*,” 68.

- 10 Wei Zheng, *Suishu*, 33.988.
- 11 Lai Xinxia, *Zhongguo difangzhi*, 37.
- 12 The production of Song dynasty illustrated guides is discussed in some detail in Mostern, “*Dividing the Realm*,” 90–99.
- 13 The difference in mode of production does not necessarily mean significantly different content; see Bol, “The Rise of Local History,” 45.
- 14 For a study of the general reorientation of the genre that took place in the Song dynasty, with particular reference to the introduction of much material about local worthies (largely for didactic purposes), see Hargett, “Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers,” 428.
- 15 For an account of early biographies of individuals from Xiangyang and their salient characteristics, see Chittick, *Patronage and Community*, 36–40.
- 16 Chen Qidi, “Fangzhi de yuanliu yu bianqian,” 5–6. The author notes that these gazetteers are remarkable not only for their survival but also for the scope of information given.
- 17 Xu Fu and Ji Wentong, *Jiangsu jiu fangzhi tiyao*.
- 18 The importance of the changes Suzhou underwent during the course of the Song dynasty are stressed in Marmé, *Suzhou*, 2. The late imperial city was a completely different kind of place from that the one that had existed in the Han through Northern Song dynasties, when even the area inside the city walls was largely given over to swamps and marshlands.
- 19 Yang Weizhen, “*Kunshan junzhi xu*,” 2603.
- 20 See, for example, the series of sixteen little guidebooks for various sites around Suzhou produced by the Guwuxuan Publishing Company in 1998, each of which consists of an illustrated account of the history of the place, followed by a section of literature written by classical authors.
- 21 Zhou Bida, *Wujun zhushan lu*, 811. Zhou also mentions reading an illustrated guide (which one is not known) and a considerable amount of poetry about the region.
- 22 The outlines of the history of the kingdom of Wu, including a list of kings who preceded King Shoumeng, are given in Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 31.1446–1447; however, nothing is known of the lives of the monarchs of Wu who reigned before King Shoumeng.
- 23 These events are described in almost identical terms in a number of ancient historical texts; see Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 1484 [Zhao 27]. See also He Xiu and Xu Yan, *Gongyang zhuan zhushu*, 303 [Zhao 27]; and Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 31.1463; 86.2518.
- 24 The role of the sack of the Chu capital in defining Wu’s reputation as the dominant military power of the late Spring and Autumn period is described in Yu Zonghan, “Wushi ru Ying zhi zhan youguan wenti tantao,” 93–106.
- 25 According to Yang Bojun (*Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 1596 [Ding 14]), King Helü of Wu was speared in the foot. In Han dynasty texts, he is generally said to have been shot with an arrow. See, for example, Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 41.1739; see also Yuan Kang and Wu Ping, *Yuejue shu*, 44 [“Jice kao”]. Regardless of the site and source of the injury, all accounts agree that King Helü’s injury was not obviously serious but that he died

- of complications from the wound. See, for example, Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 31.1468: “The king of Wu had an infected wound from which he died.”
- 26 The most important of these missions was the covenant at Huangchi in 482 BCE, in which King Fuchai of Wu disputed the position of Master of Covenants with the marquis of Jin, whose family had held this post as one of its prerogatives since the time of the great Lord Wen of Jin (r. 636–628 BCE); see Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 1676–1679 [Ai 13]. For the king of Wu, this event was undoubtedly marred by the fact that Yue took advantage of his absence to launch its first invasion, though he was able to prevent news of this disaster from leaking out.
- 27 Ibid., 1719 [Ai 22]; and Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 31.1475.
- 28 Blakeley, “Chu Society and State,” 66.
- 29 “Liu Xiang of the Han dynasty wrote in a commentary: ‘King Helü of Wu contravened the Rites, and was buried lavishly. A decade or so later, the people of Yue took him [out of his tomb].’” Quoted in Lu Xiong, *Suzhou fu zhi*, 1787.
- 30 The date and the effectiveness of the Chu conquest of Yue is much debated by modern Chinese scholars. See Ni Shiwei, *Zhejiang gudai shi*, 27.
- 31 The history of the citadel is described in Pan Junming, *Zicheng*.
- 32 Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 78.2399.
- 33 Chen Yan’en and Li Zhaoluo, *Jiangyinxian zhi*, 379.
- 34 After he was appointed pacification commissioner (*xunfushi*) of Jiangnan in 688, Di Renjie (630–700) was responsible for a major inquisition of heterodox cults in the Wu region, during which hundreds of shrines were destroyed. The cult dedicated to Lord Chunshen was a victim of this repression. Indeed, only four local cults were exempted: those dedicated to the sage-king Yu, the Great Earl of Wu, Prince Jizha of Wu, and Wu Zixu. McMullen, “The Real Judge Dee,” 6–8.
- 35 Zhu Zugeng, *Zhanguo ce jijiao huikao*, 851 [Chuce 4: “Chu Kaoliewang wuzi”]; Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 78.2396–2398; and Liu Xiang, *Lienü zhuan*, 7.10b [“Niebi zhuan”].
- 36 Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 6. 260–264. See also Wu Fuzhu, *Qin Shihuang keshi kao*, 55–62. For a translation and study of the Mount Kuaiji inscription, see Kern, *The Stele Inscriptions*, 44–49. It is worth noting that this inscription is unique in containing a lengthy section on appropriate rules of sexual behavior. It is thought that this was included with a view to reforming the inhabitants of the Wu-Yue region, who were still regarded at that time as highly barbaric.
- 37 Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 51.1993.
- 38 Ibid., 106.2823.
- 39 This campaign is described in *ibid.*, 114.2979–2984.
- 40 For a detailed study of the history of the Wu dynasty, see de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*.
- 41 Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, 46.1093.
- 42 The biography of Lady Wu, the mother of Sun Quan, is given in *ibid.*, 50. 1195–1196. For an English-language translation, see Cutter and Crowell, *Empresses and Consorts*, 122–123.
- 43 For Sun Quan’s interest in Buddhism and his contributions to the faith during the Wu dynasty, see Sun Yongcai, “Fojiao lunli yu Wudi ren de shengcun fangshi,” 437.

- Kang Senghui's conversion of Sun Quan to Buddhism was a popular subject in later religious art; see Eugene Wang, "Of the True Body," 83–84.
- 44 Wang Zhongluo, *Wei Jin Nan-Beichao shi*, 296–298. This elite society forms the basis of many of the anecdotes recorded in *New Account of Tales of the World* (Shishuo xinyu), which provides a lively and detailed description of key figures in Chinese history from the collapse of the Han dynasty to the end of the Eastern Jin; see Mather, *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü*, xvii–xviii.
 - 45 For a detailed account of the progress of this war and its historical ramifications, see Dreyer, "Military Aspects."
 - 46 For a study of the personal commitment to the Buddhist faith of Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty, see Tian, *Beacon Fire*, 52–67.
 - 47 For an outline of both the works written by the emperor and those created under his sponsorship, see Zhou Caifang, "Jianlun Liang Wudi dui Wu wenhua de gongxian."
 - 48 The official biography of Chen Fan is given in Yao Silian, *Chenshu*, 28.379; and Li Yanshou, *Nanshi*, 65.1593. During the Daye reign era (605–616), Chen Fan held the post of magistrate of Fucheng in Sichuan, according to the *History of the Chen Dynasty* (Chenshu), or Rencheng in Shandong, according to the *History of the Southern Dynasties* (Nanshi).
 - 49 For the official biographies of these two men, see Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, 56.2269–2270 and 2273–2275; see also Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, 87.3724–3725 and 3726–3728.
 - 50 For the official biography of Li Fuwei, see Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, 56.3366–3368; and Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, 92.3799–3801. It is worth noting that the two dynastic histories take very different approaches to this man, marked by the use of different nomenclature. The *Old History of the Tang Dynasty* (Jiu Tangshu) consistently refers to him as Du Fuwei, thereby ignoring his new, imperially bestowed surname (and implicitly denigrating his role in the founding of the dynasty). The *New History of the Tang Dynasty* (Xin Tangshu) avoids the issue completely by the simple expedient of omitting the surname for every reference.
 - 51 The portrayal of the Wuyue kings in sources such as the official history of the dynasty is not sympathetic, though in comparison with the other rulers of the time, the Qian family was exceptionally devoted to its people and behaved with much less brutality. For a summing up of the history of the dynasty, see Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Wudai shi*, 67.835–844. For the argument that the foundations of later prosperity in Suzhou were laid during the Wuyue dynasty, see Tao Fuxian, "Qian Liu yu Wuyue guo."
 - 52 For Qian Yuanliao's biography, see Qian Yan, *Wuyue beishi*, 3.43–44. Given his importance in the history of the city of Suzhou, numerous gazetteers for the region also contain biographies of the king of Guangling; see, for example, Fan Chengda, *Wujun zhi*, 11.139.
 - 53 An account of this famous garden is given in *Supplementary Records to the "Illustrated Guide to Wu Commandery."* For a short compilation of verse on the subject, see Fan Chengda, *Wujun zhi*, 14.190–191.
 - 54 The skilled diplomacy shown by generation after generation of the kings of Wuyue, and their success in preserving their wealthy kingdom from attack, are discussed in Worthy, "Diplomacy for Survival."

- 55 Several important branches of the Qian ruling house of the Wuyue dynasty are recorded in Song sources. Of these, the best-recorded is the family of Qian Jingzhen (a great-grandson of the last king of Wuyue). Qian Jingzhen married a daughter of Emperor Renzong; a powerful matriarch of the clan, she oversaw its move to the south after the collapse of the Northern Song dynasty and eventually settled in Fujian. The princess proceeded to bully Emperor Gaozong into granting her son, Qian Chen, an extremely senior government post. Qian Chen's son, Qian Duanli (1109–1177), also had a very distinguished career in the Southern Song government and was the grandfather of Qian Xiangzu, the grand chancellor. See Tuotuo, *Songshi*, 248.8777; and Chang Bide et al., *Songren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*, 5.4084. For an account of this family, see Bossler, *Powerful Relations*, 66–67, 105–106.
- 56 Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, “Junguo” 4.3490, n. 10.
- 57 Wei Zheng, *Suishu*, 47.1253.
- 58 Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, 28A.1590–1591.
- 59 For a study of ancient place-names in the ancient kingdoms of Wu and Yue, see Zhou Zhenhe and You Rujie, “Gu Yueyu diming chutan.”
- 60 This statement is made twice in *Records of the Grand Historian*; see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 5.220, 6.239. The *Collected Explanations* (Jijie) commentary on the *Records of the Grand Historian* by Pei Yin (fl. fifth century) lists thirty-six commanderies, but this is somewhat different from the list given in the *History of the Han Dynasty*; *ibid.*, 6.239, n. 1.
- 61 In this, the discovery of the Yuelu Academy Qin bamboo texts in 2007 is particularly significant. These documents name twenty-two Qin dynasty commanderies, ten of which are also mentioned in “Treatise on Geography” in the *History of the Han Dynasty*. Of the remainder, five are recorded in the transmitted textual tradition, in some cases, only many centuries after the collapse of the Qin dynasty. Two (Qinghe and Taishan Commanderies) were known only from clay seals; see Fu Jiayi, *Xin chutu Qindai fengniyin ji*, 195; and Zhou Xiaolu and Lu Dongzhi, *Qin fengni ji*, 64, 68. Another two, Zhouling and Jianghu Commanderies, remain highly mysterious.
- 62 Jia Liying, “Qin Han jian fanying Hanchu Zhaoguo shujun ji nanbu bianjie wenti erze.”
- 63 Zhang Hongwei, “Qin Zhejiangjun kao,” 126–132.
- 64 For the appointment of Liu Gong, see Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, 53.2418.
- 65 Of these counties, Haiyan would have by far the most complex history, having been periodically subsumed into other bureaucratic divisions, downgraded from county status, assigned to the control of a different administrative unit, and so on. For a detailed discussion of this process, see Tan Qixiang, “Haiyanxian de jianzhi yange.”
- 66 Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, “Junguo,” 4.3488–3489. On the basis of the figures given for the two Han dynasty censuses, Dong Chuping (“Handai de Wu Yue wenhua,” 39) argues that there cannot have been large numbers of people moving southward from the Chinese heartlands during the Han dynasty—the figures simply do not bear this out. His contention is particularly significant, given that this suggests comparatively little social disruption (at least in Wu Commandery) during the Wang Mang interregnum.

- 67 Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, 47.1145.
- 68 For a discussion of this administrative change, see Tan Qixiang et al., *Songshu "Zhoujun zhi" huishi*, 16.
- 69 Fang Xuanling, *Jinshu*, 15.460.
- 70 Shen Yue, *Songshu*, 35.1032.
- 71 Fang Xuanling, *Jinshu*, 7.173.
- 72 He Chong's official biography is in *ibid.*, 77.2028–2031.
- 73 For the official biography of He Fani, see *ibid.*, 32.977–978.
- 74 *Ibid.*, 15.460–461.
- 75 Shen Yue, *Songshu*, 35.1031–1032.
- 76 Li Jifu, *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi*, 25.601.
- 77 Wei Zheng, *Suishu*, 31.877–878.
- 78 Wang Ao et al., *Gusu zhi*, 14.1b.
- 79 This figure is derived from Du You, *Tongdian*, 182.4827. Li Jifu, *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi*, 25.600, gives a different figure, 68,093 households, for this census.
- 80 The results of the 753 census are given in Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, 40.1586.
- 81 Li Jifu, *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi*, 25.602.
- 82 *Ibid.*, 25.600–601.
- 83 Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, 41.1058. For the 753 census, see Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, 40.1586.
- 84 Yue Shi, *Taiping huanyu ji*, 91.1817.
- 85 Gu Licheng, *Zou xiang nanfang*, 148.
- 86 Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, 258.8417. The same story is given in Wu Renchen, *Shiguo chunqiu*, 1.9, except that the old and ill were killed rather than the old and babies.
- 87 Wang Cun, *Yuanfeng jiuyu zhi*, 5.210. Zhu Changwen, *Wujun tujing xuji*, 7, gives a figure for the total population at the time of 1080 census of 379,487 individuals, but the source of this figure is not known.
- 88 Tuotuo, *Songshi*, 88.2174.
- 89 Mote, "A Millennium," 60.
- 90 The term Bai Yue appears to have been coined in the *Spring and Autumn Annals of Lü Buwei* (*Lüshi chunqiu*). Chen Qiyu, *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, 1331 ["Shijun"]. For an introduction to the history of these peoples, see Peters, "Tattooed Faces"; and Brindley, "Barbarians or Not?" For the geographic distribution of these peoples, see Jiang Bingzhao, Wu Mianji, and Xin Tucheng, *Baiyue minzu wenhua*.
- 91 Zhu Zugeng, *Zhanguo ce jijiao huikao*, 967 [Zhao 2: "Wulingwang pingzhou jianju"]. For a study of ancient literature on the subject of Bai Yue customs in general, see Wu Chunming, "Zi Jiaozhi zhi Kuaiji."
- 92 Xie Chen, *Gouwu shi xinkao*, 61. This issue is also discussed in Li Xueqin and Wang Linchang, "Yue wenhua zai Zhongguo wenmingshizhong de diwei yiji dui Dongya lishi wenhua de yingxiang," 8.
- 93 See Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 1677 [Ai 13]; and Yang Bojun, *Lunyu yizhu*, 74 (7.31 "Shuer").
- 94 For a discussion of the preservation of Zhou intellectual traditions in Chu, see Chen Tongsheng, *Kongzi shilun yanjiu*, 4–17.

- 95 Xu Zhongshu, *Yin-Zhou jinwen jilu*, 470; and Shirakawa, *Kimbun tsushaku*, 40.589.
- 96 Wang Wenqing, “Zailun Wu Yue tongzu.”
- 97 The investiture of King Goujian as hegemon and his return of land to its original rulers are both mentioned in the account of the hereditary house of Yue in Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 41.1746.
- 98 Texts such as “Treatise on Surnames” (Zhi shixing) in *Discourses of a Hermit* (Qianfu lun) by Wang Fu (c. 90–165) record only two clans claiming descent from the Wu royal house: the Yanling family descended from Prince Jizha and the Tangxi lineage descended from Prince Fugai. Wang Jipei, *Qianfu lun jian*, 9.452. The Mei and Gu families, who claimed descent from King Goujian of Yue, will be discussed below. They were, however, not unique; Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 114.2979, records the Zou family, which was also said to be descended from the Yue royal house.
- 99 Zhu Weigan, *Fujian shigao*, 26–28. For the prominence of this family into the Song dynasty, see Fan Duan’ang, *Aozhong jianwen*, 152. Another prominent Yue family, the descendants of Yao Wuyu, held the hereditary marquissate of Haiyang, but the title would lapse in the fourth generation due to the lack of male heirs in the direct line. Wang Hui, *Han wangguo yu houguo zhi yanbian*, 154.
- 100 These four families continued to exert an amazing degree of influence over the city throughout the imperial era. As late as the Ming dynasty, one in seven of the *jinshi* degree holders from Suzhou was a member of one of these four clans; see Marmé, *Suzhou*, 11.
- 101 The issue of migration from northern to southern China during the Han dynasty is exhaustively discussed in Xiao Fan, *Chunqiu zhi Liang Han shiqi Zhongguo xiang nanfang de fazhan*.
- 102 Fan Chengda, *Wujun zhi*, 23.348. Although he does not mention it, not only was Fan Chengda himself a member of this family, but Fan Zhongyan, who figures extremely prominently in the *Supplementary Records*, was also a member of this distinguished clan.
- 103 This point is made in Cutter and Cromwell, *Empresses and Consorts*, 50–53.
- 104 The snobbishness of these two northern aristocratic families was notorious. When, during the Liang dynasty, Hou Jing asked for permission to marry a daughter of one of these houses, he was told to find a bride from the Zhu or Zhang families (from the Four Lineages), or perhaps some lesser clan; see Li Yanshou, *Nanshi*, 80.1996. For a study of the Xie family, see Chennault, “Lofty Gates?” For a comparison of the position of the Xies, the Wangs, and other major lineages at this time, see Grafflin, “The Great Family.”
- 105 For a conservative discussion on this point, focusing largely on the impact of the great northern clans on southern culture at this time, see Wang Zhongluo, *Wei Jin Nan-Beichao shi*, 304–307.
- 106 Dubbini, *Geography of the Gaze*, 10.
- 107 Qu Tuiyuan and Zhu Jincheng, *Li Bai ji jiaozhu*, 220.
- 108 Gu Xuejie, *Bai Juyi ji*, 540.
- 109 Fu Bi, “Fan Wenzhenggong Zhongyan muzhiming,” quoted in Du Dagui, *Mingchen beizhuan wanyan ji*, 12.587.

- 110 Pi Rixiu's identity as a late Tang dynasty refugee who settled in Suzhou is clarified in Pi Ziliang's tomb inscription, "Funerary inscription for Lord Pi, assistant minister in the Court of Judicial Review, court gentleman of manifest virtue" (Gu xuande langshou dalisi cheng Pigong muzhiming), as given in Yin Zhu, *Henan xiansheng wenji*, 15.8.
- 111 As with the examples given above, information about the Tu family's status as refugees is derived from a funerary inscription, "Kaifu Yitong sansi shangzhuguo Haiyan Tu jiangjun muzhiming" (Funerary inscription for General Tu of Haiyan [County], supreme pillar of the state, commander unequaled in honor), by Pi Guangye (888–954); quoted in *Quan Tangwen*, 898.9377–9378. Pi Guangye was Pi Rixiu's son, which suggests that refugee families tended to stick together.
- 112 These events are described in Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, 263.8578.
- 113 For a detailed study of what is known about the types of people who became refugees after the collapse of the Tang dynasty, see Gu Licheng, *Zou xiang nanfang*, 69–118.
- 114 Wang Mingqing, *Huichen lu*, 10.8b. Wang Mingqing (1127–1202) was only three at the time of these events but was certainly acquainted with many eyewitnesses to the sack of Suzhou. This text is paraphrased in a number of later gazetteers; see, for example, Jin Youli, *Taihu beikao*, 179.
- 115 Fan Chengda, *Wujun zhi*, 6.52.
- 116 Wang Yongze, "Suzhou de bianqian he fazhan," 82.
- 117 Hong Mai, *Yi Jian zhi*, 331.

TALES OF THE LANDS OF WU

- 1 Huang Wei, "Guan yu Yuejue shu," 118. The role of these two chapters in establishing the reputation of the *Lost Histories of Yue* as the first gazetteer is also considered in Hargett, "Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers," 406.
- 2 Yuan Kang and Wu Ping, *Yuejue shu*, 9–19 ["Ji Wudi zhuan"]. The most detailed study to date of the early history of the city of Suzhou is Yinong Xu, *The Chinese City*.
- 3 Kong Yingda, *Shangshu zhengyi*, 476–496 ["Luogao"]; and Kong Yingda, *Maoshi zhengyi*, 1232–1238 ["Wenwang you sheng"]. The *Book of Songs* also contains another song, "Entwining" (Mian), which provides a vivid description of the process of building the Western Zhou capital; see Kong Yingda, *Maoshi zhengyi*, 1147–1167. These ancient texts are considered in detail in Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 29–33.
- 4 Zheng Xuan and Jia Gongyan, *Zhouli zhushu*, 1345–1354 ["Jiangren"]. For a complete translation, see Wenren Jun, *Ancient Chinese Encyclopedia*. This text and its influence on urban planning in China have been the subject of numerous studies, including Liangyong Wu, *A Brief History*; and He Yeju, *Kaogong ji yingguo zhidu yanjiu*.
- 5 The "Record of Artificers" text was admittedly significant as a manual for city design, but there were a number of other models for urban planning; see Steinhardt, "Why?"; and also Xiong, "Sui Yangdi."

- 6 The significance of the *Lost Histories of Yue* as a “local” text, as opposed to “metropolitan” texts composed by individuals with access to court archives, is stressed in Chia-li Luo, “Coastal Culture and Religion,” 18–19.
- 7 See Wei Zheng, *Suishu*, 33.960; Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, 47.1993; and Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, 56.1463. All these catalogs refer to a text in sixteen fascicles, but the Song dynasty imperial library catalog records a *Lost Histories of Yue* in fifteen fascicles; see Tuotuo, *Songshi*, 204.1566. The Song dynasty scholar Zhao Xibian describes the latter copy of this text; quoted in Sun Meng, *Junzhai dushu zhi jiaozheng*, 1228. This recension of the text lacks the first chapter, “Basic Matters,” but is otherwise identical to the transmitted version in chapter titles and order.
- 8 Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 65.2162, n. 1.
- 9 Chen Zhensun, *Zhizhai shulu jieti*, 136.
- 10 Yang Shen, *Danqian zalu*, 79. For another account of the solution to this riddle from a contemporary, see Tian Yiheng, *Liuqing rizha*, 309.
- 11 Zhang Zongxiang, *Lunheng jiaozhu*, 566 [“Anshu”]. This reference is discussed in Chen Qiaoyi, “Guanyu Yuejue shu ji qi zuozhe,” 36. The *Lost Histories of Yue* was apparently known by a wide variety of different names during the imperial era, including *Remaining Histories of Yue* (Yuejue), *Accounts of Yue* (Yuelu), and *Records of Yue* (Yueji). This nomenclature is discussed in Chen Qiaoyi, *Wu Yue wenhua luncong*, 77. The theory that the *Lost Histories of Yue* and *Historical Records from Yue* are one and the same is discussed extensively in Li Bujia, *Yuejue shu yanjiu*, 6–11.
- 12 Yuan Kang and Wu Ping, *Yuejue shu*, 19 [“Ji Wudi”].
- 13 Hong Yixuan, *Zhushu jinian jiao*, B.19a. These references to King Goujian of Yue moving his capital to Langya in Shandong remain highly problematic. Relocating the capital so far north would have completely altered the balance of power in the Central States during the late Spring and Autumn period. It is also important that there are no references to such a move in earlier texts, such as *Zuo’s Tradition*, *Discourses of the States*, and *Records of the Grand Historian*. For an analysis of the evidence, see Gu Jiegang, *Suzhou shizhi biji*, 31–32.
- 14 Yuan Kang and Wu Ping, *Yuejue shu*, 18 [“Ji Wudi”].
- 15 Ibid., 19 [“Ji Wudi”].
- 16 Chen Qiaoyi, “Dianjiaoben Yuejue shu xu,” 12.
- 17 Yuan Kang and Wu Ping, *Yuejue shu*, 11 [“Ji Wudi”].
- 18 Li Bujia (*Yuejue shu yanjiu*, 98–99) discusses the theory that at least this first line of *Tales of the Lands of Wu* belongs to a completely different chapter of the *Lost Histories of Yue*, the missing “Great Earl.”
- 19 Yuan Kang and Wu Ping, *Yuejue shu*, 9 [“Ji Wudi”].
- 20 Ibid., 9 [“Ji Wudi zhuan”].
- 21 The controversy over exactly where King Wen of Zhou’s uncle was enfeoffed is discussed in detail in Wei Juxian, “Taibo zhi feng zai Xiwu.” Zhang Zongxiang (*Yuejue shu jiaozhu*, 2.1a) argues that the first line here is wrong, since according to Sima Qian (*Shiji*, 31.1446), it was not Taibo but his descendants who were enfeoffed in Wu. Zhang therefore argues that this first line should be amended to read: “King Wu enfeoffed the descendants of Taibo in Wu” (Wuwang feng Taibo zhi hou yu Wu).

- 22 The family tree of the Wu royal house remains enormously controversial, and the problems have yet to be resolved. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 31.1446–1447, gives an extensive list of the kings of Wu. As it stands, King Shoumeng is the Great Earl's descendant in the nineteenth generation, King Zhufan his descendant in the twentieth generation, King Helü his descendant in the twenty-first generation, and King Fuchai his descendant in the twenty-second generation. If the succession of brothers in the same generation are counted as separate, however, and King Xionsui of Wu (given in the *Records of the Grand Historian's* king list as one person) is divided into two individuals, then King Fuchai is indeed twenty-six “generations” removed from the Great Earl; see Yu Yue, *Yuejue shu zhaji*, 54. The rationale for separating King Xionsui into two individuals, King Xiong and King Sui of Wu, is provided in the *Spring and Autumn Annals of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yue* (Wu Yue chunqiu); see Zhou Shengchun, *Wu Yue chunqiu jijiao huikao*, 15 [“Wu Taibo zhuan”].
- 23 The original text refers to this as the walled city of Wu-Yue (Wu-Yue cheng). However, all commentators on this passage agree that the character *yue* is wrong; see, for example, Qian Peiming, *Yuejue shu zhaji*, 5. Liu Jianguo (*Xinyi Yuejue shu*, 30) suggests reading the character *yue* as *da*, meaning “great.”
- 24 Mount Xu is another name for Mount Su, or Gusu. The names used for this mountain have always caused immense trouble, which seems to have arisen from the fact that it is a transliteration of a Wu word and therefore a number of Chinese characters have been used interchangeably; see Wei Juxian, “Wu Yue shiming,” 2–4. It has been argued that in the reign of King Fuchai, the seat of government was indeed moved to Gusu; see, for example, Xie Chen, *Gouwu shi xinkao*, 66.
- 25 This seems to be a reference to a theory that Fuchai was not the son of King Helü of Wu but his grandson; see Zhou Shengchun, *Wu Yue chunqiu jijiao huikao*, 66 [“Helü neizhuan”]. (This theory rests on the addition of the character *zi* [son] to the phrase *Bo Taizi Fuchai*, which admittedly does not make sense as it stands. This phrase would then read *Bo Taizi zi Fuchai* [Fuchai, the son of Crown Prince Bo].) King Fuchai of Wu seems to have reigned for twenty-two years (495–473 BCE), not twenty-three as stated here.
- 26 Pulleyblank (“Zou and Lu,” 45) suggests that the *gu* in “Gusu” meant “great” in the Wu-Yue language.
- 27 Mount Niu is also known as Mount Zu. For a discussion of the different names for this mountain, and Xu Tianyou's decision to change the text to the present standard Niushan, see Qian Peiming, *Yuejue shu zhaji*, 5. “Xumu” was another name for Dongting Dongshan, an island in Lake Tai, and this alternative name is recorded in many gazetteers; see Ye Chengqing, *Xiangzhi leigao*, 123. In those days, this was an island, but in the eighteenth century, it was joined to the mainland by a causeway; see Wuxian diming weiyuanhui, *Jiangsusheng Wuxian diminglu*, 268.
- 28 The translation here of “Qupo” as “Archery Bank” (Shepo) is based on the commentary in Zhang Zongxiang, *Yuejue shu jiaozhu*, 2.2a. The text seems to be corrupt here and is translated according to the parallels found in Zhou Shengchun, *Wu Yue chunqiu jijiao huikao*, 66 [“Helü neizhuan”]. These amendments are proposed in Qian Peiming, *Yuejue shu zhaji*, 5.

- 29 The term “Changzhou,” or “Long Island,” has been preserved to the present day as a designation for the western half of the ancient city of Suzhou and its suburbs; see Gu Jiegang, *Suzhou shizhi biji*, 52. The original location of this place is not known.
- 30 Ancient units of measure here and throughout the book have been converted according to Wu Chengluo, *Zhongguo duliangheng shi*.
- 31 Excavations of the walls of Suzhou are discussed in Zou Houben, Wu Jianmin, and Gu Jianxiang, *Jiangsu kaoguwushinian*, 190–193. Some scholars believe that the Wu Walled City mentioned here has nothing to do with the present-day city of Suzhou, which, they argue, was not founded until the Han dynasty. They believe that Wu Walled City was instead located at Numinous Cliff Mountain; see Lu Xuemei and Qian Gonglin, “Chunqiu shidai Wudacheng weizhi zaikao.”
- 32 For an impression of the layout of the city, reconstructed according to the dimensions given in this chapter of the *Lost Histories of Yue*, see Yinong Xu, *The Chinese City*, 43.
- 33 It has been argued that in the post-Han period, citadels were built not just in response to outside threats but because of the possibility of local hostility to the ruling house; see Miyazaki, “Rikuchō jidai kahoku no toshi.” This principle would seem to apply equally well to older cities such as Suzhou. The destruction of the citadel of Wu at the very beginning of the Ming dynasty was the most significant pre-twentieth-century modification to the ancient city of Suzhou, as described in Marmé, “Heaven on Earth,” 35. The walls of the citadel of Wu ran roughly along the rectangle traced by present-day Jinfan Road, Shizi Road, Gongyuan Road, and Yanqiao xiatang; see Yue Junjie, Cai Han’gang, and Gao Zhigang, *Suzhou wenhua*, 7.
- 34 This is thought to refer to the use of wooden cobbles; see Yu Jidong, *Yuejue shu quanyi*, 29. This expression is found elsewhere in Chinese literature, where *zhai lu* refers to blocking off a road. However, *chai lu* here does seem to mean a type of road surface; see, for example, Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, 56.1313.
- 35 The concordance to the *Lost Histories of Yue* indicates that the characters for “two hundred” (*erbai*) are a scholarly intervention in the text. It is not clear where these characters are derived from, and other editions give them as integral to the text. Liu Dianjue et al., *Yuejue shu zhuzi suoyin*, 5.
- 36 The text here is corrupt. It is thought that the dimensions refer to the wall surrounding the Western Palace; see Zhang Zongxiang, *Yuejue shu jiaozhu*, 2.3b. Some commentators identify Changqiu as the name of a gate; see, for example, Yu Jidong, *Yuejue shu quanyi*, 30. Liu Jianguo (*Xinyi Yuejue shu*, 33) suggests amending the first clause to read: “The Western Palace is on Changqiu road” (Xi Gong zai Changqiu lu).
- 37 The history of this gate is described in Wang Jiaju, *Suzhou jiumeng*, 11.
- 38 Pacification Gate was supposedly named to commemorate the victory over Qi; see Wu Qu, *Gusu yeshi*, 4. Ancient Chinese texts also speak of the significance of Snake Gate. According to Zhou Shengchun, *Wu Yue chunqiu jijiao huikao*, 40 [“Helü neizhuan”], it was symbolic of Wu’s conquest and domination of the kingdom of Yue.
- 39 This is an important early reference to the canals for which the city of Suzhou would

become so famous. The date when canals were first dug remains highly controversial, and it is clear that the extent of the canal network within the city walls varied enormously in different historical epochs. See Suzhoushi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui bianqongshi, Suzhou bowuguan, Suzhou beike bowuguan, and Guwuxuan chubanshe, *Suzhou gucheng dituji*, 15–19.

- 40 The original text says that the road leaves the city by the Xuming. This has been amended to Xu Gate, in accordance with the commentary by Zhang Zongxiang, *Yuejue shu jiaozhu*, 2.4a.
- 41 Mount Gaojing has been identified with one of the peaks in the Tianping mountain range; see Zhang Zongxiang, *Yuejue shu jiaozhu*, 2.4a.
- 42 Liu Jianguo (*Xinyi Yuejue shu*, 34) suggests that the characters *bei gu* in this line should be understood as a reference to Mount Beigu, as has been done in this translation.
- 43 Youquan is modern-day Jiaxing in Zhejiang. In understanding *pisai* as referring to defensive walls rather than as a place-name, this translation follows the commentary of Yu Jidong, *Yuejue shu quanyi*, 32. This account suggests that, like other states of the Spring and Autumn period, Wu built long walls to keep out its enemies. The most famous of these walls is the Ming dynasty Great Wall, but it was only one of many; this is discussed in Waldron, “The Problem of the Great Wall.” “Kuaiyi” is a variant of “Kuaiji,” the name of the mountain in Yue where King Goujian made his stand against the forces of Wu in 494 BCE. It is a very rare variant of the name, found only in the *Lost Histories of Yue*; see Yu Yue, *Yuejue shu zhaji*, 55. “Shanyin” refers to what is now the site of the city of Shaoxing.
- 44 The original text of the *Lost Histories of Yue* reads “Judongcheng,” but in accordance with the commentary by Li Bujia, this is being read as “Eastern Wu Walled City” (Wudongcheng); see also Liu Dianjue, *Yuejue shu zhuzi suoyin*, 5, n. 9. The remnants of a number of defensive encampments built by the kings of Wu survive; see Zhang Shangjin et al., *Wujin xian zhi*, 708–709.
- 45 Jiuli, also known by the alternative name Zuili, was the site of the battle in which King Helü of Wu was fatally injured; see Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 1595 [Ding 14].
- 46 The original text of the *Lost Histories of Yue* names this site as Qian Village (Qianli), but Li Bujia has suggested that the character *qian* should be read *gan*, as in the surname of the famous swordsmith Gan Jiang; see Liu Dianjue, *Yuejue shu zhuzi suoyin*, 5, n. 10. I would suggest that the character *lu* meaning “hut” should be read as *lu* meaning “forge.”
- 47 Earlier accounts of these events have Master Ou Ye as a craftsman from Yue and Gan Jiang from Wu; however, by the Eastern Han dynasty, these two individuals had become linked, and Master Ou Ye was often described as Gan Jiang’s teacher. The development of their initially separate legends is described in Liu Dunyuan, *Meishu kaogu yu gudai wenming*, 512–516.
- 48 For references to the use of icehouses (*bingshi*) as cool places for the storage of food in ancient China, see Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 1248–1250 [Zhao 4]; and Sterckx, “Food and Philosophy,” 36.

- 49 The description of this tomb and that of King Helü's children found below suggests procedures very different from known Wu burial practices. This is possibly the result of distinct customs being developed by the ruling house, as suggested in Xie Chen, *Gouwu shi xinkao*, 64–65.
- 50 It has been suggested that the three thousand swords mentioned here were made by Gan Jiang to arm the men of Wu against Yue; see Honey, “Before Dragons Coiled,” 20. This would seem to be a highly idiosyncratic interpretation. Liu Jianguo (*Xinyi Yuejue shu*, 38) suggests that the phrase *fangyuan zhi kou sanqian* should be understood as a reference to three thousand sacrificial victims, rather than objects buried in the tomb.
- 51 The sword Shihao is known only from this text. The blade Yuchang was supposed to have been the dagger used to kill King Liao of Wu in 515 BCE; see Zhou Shengchun, *Wu Yue chunqiu jijiao huikao*, 35 [“Wang Liao shi Gongzi Guang zhuan”].
- 52 Some editions of the *Lost Histories of Yue* say that one hundred thousand men (*shi wan*) were used to build the tomb, rather than ten million (*qian wan*); see Qian Peiming, *Yuejue shu zhaji*, 6. It is likely that the lower figure is correct, since the *Collected Explanations* (Jijie) commentary on *Records of the Grand Historian* quotes this line of the *Lost Histories of Yue*, saying that the tomb of King Helü of Wu was constructed by more than one hundred thousand soldiers. See Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 31.1468, n. 5. It is known that Wu burial customs involved placing the body on the ground and then building a tomb mound above it; see Wagner, *Iron and Steel*, 119. It is now known, however, that Tiger Hill was created by volcanic action, so if King Helü was buried in the traditional Wu manner, he is not buried at the site now visited by thousands of tourists annually; see Li Yuqing, *Jiangsu mingcheng lu*, 167.
- 53 The *Collected Explanations* commentary on *Records of the Grand Historian* quotes this line from the *Lost Histories of Yue* but states that the tiger appeared three days after the king was buried, not three days after the construction of the tomb; see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 31.1468, n. 5. According to some later versions of the story, the tiger that appeared above the tomb was a manifestation of the fine swords buried within. See, for example, Fan Chengda, *Wujun zhi*, 39.554, which describes how “the essence of the metal floated upward and became a white tiger guarding the tomb”; see also Ouyang Xun, *Yiwen leiju*, 141.
- 54 In his commentary on this phrase, Qian Peiming (*Yuejue shu zhaji*, 7) suggests that this line should be changed to refer to the grave of a “daughter” (*nüzi*) of the king of Wu rather than his “children” (*zinü*). There are many references in imperial era Chinese texts to the story of a daughter of the king of Wu (named variously Helü or Fuchai) who committed suicide; see, for example, Zhou Shengchun, *Wu Yue chunqiu jijiao huikao*, 53 [“Helü neizhuan”]. Apparently, the *Lost Histories of Yue* did at one time contain a specific reference to the death and burial of this princess, but it has been lost from the transmitted text. As an alternative to Qian Peiming's suggestion that this whole entry refers to the death of the princess of Wu but has become corrupt, it is also possible that two entries have been conflated. There are persistent reports in imperial era texts that King Helü of Wu's children were buried in a great

mortuary complex in Jiangyin County. See Yue Shi, *Taiping huanyu ji*, 92.1854; and Ye Wenxian, *Wuguo lishi yu Wu wenhua tanmi*, 115.

- 55 There seems to be no reason for giving two different sets of dimensions for this water feature, which suggests that the text is corrupt at this point.
- 56 This is a reference to the story of the Wu princess, found in Zhou Shengchun, *Wu Yue chunqiu jijiao huikao*, 53 ["Helü neizhuan"], which describes cranes dancing in the marketplace of Wu upon her death and the people following the cranes out of the city, where they were then entombed with her.
- 57 King Xiang is King Xiang of Chu (r. 298–263 BCE). According to the account preserved in "Preface to the Rhapsody of the Goddess" (Shennü fu xu) by Song Yu (fl. third century BCE), the king dreamed that he met the goddess and asked the poet to write about it: "King Xiang of Chu and Song Yu went traveling in the Yunmeng hunting park; . . . that night as the king slept, as expected he dreamed that he met with a goddess, and that she was extremely beautiful." *Wen xuan*, 19.7a. For an English-language translation of this rhapsody, see Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, vol. 3: 339–349.
- 58 Some scholars suggest that the terms "Ping Gate" and "Wu Gate" were used interchangeably in ancient texts; see Gao Deji, *Pingjiang jishi*, 462. The original text says that this walled city was that of King Song of Yue. In accordance with the commentary by Qian Peiming (*Yuejue shu zhaji*, 8), this has been amended to King Mi of Yue.
- 59 This bizarre story of the headless king of Yue is also found in *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era* (Taiping yulan), which credits the *Spring and Autumn Annals of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yue* as the source of this tale. The story of the headless King Mi of Yue riding home is not found in the transmitted text. The *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era* account says: "[King Mi] did battle with King Yao of Yue. The king of Yue killed King Mi. King Mi did not have a head, but he rode his horse back to Wu Village, and then he died, and they buried him inside the walls of Wu Village. Because he died on a Wu day, to this very day, the people of Wu Village do not light fires on a Wu day." Li Fang, *Taiping yulan*, 556.2514. This version of the story differs significantly from that found in the *Lost Histories of Yue* and provides evidence of a southern equivalent of the Cold Food Festival, otherwise associated with the worship of Jie Zhitui in northern China; see Holzman, "The Cold Food Festival." For the official biography of King Yao of Yue, see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 114. 2979–2980.
- 60 This place is now identified with Sun's Mound (Sundun) at Huxiao Village, thanks to the efforts of the Qing dynasty scholar Sun Xingyan (1753–1818), who traveled to Suzhou in 1800 to find sites associated with Sun Wu. Sun Xingyan claimed to be a descendant in the fifty-seventh generation of Sun Wu and ordered the construction of commemorative monuments at important Wu historical sites, including Tiger Hill. See Li Jiaqiu, "Sun Wu yu Gusu," 377–378; and Gu Lu, *Tongqiao yizhao lu*, 39. The site is now marked with a stele reading "The Tomb of Sun Wu of Qi, client of the king of Wu" (Wu wang ke Qi Sun Wu zhong); see Wu Enpei, *Gouwu wenhua de xiandai chanshi*, 435. For a discussion of the theory that Sun Wu is an epithet, "Exiled Warrior" (Xun Wu), and not a name, which hence disassociates the author of *Master Sun's Arts of War* from the biography in *Records of the Grand Historian*, see Peterson, "What's in a Name?"

- 61 As has been noted by numerous commentators, there is no record of the Earth Gate in any other text on Suzhou. Various suggestions have been put forward to account for the discrepancy. Zhang Zongxiang (*Yuejue shu jiaozhu*, 2.6a) suggests that this was perhaps the name of one of the water gates to the city, the name of which was otherwise not recorded. Qian Peiming (*Yuejue shu zhaji*, 8) suggests that “Earth Gate” refers to Snake Gate. The same commentary suggests that the characters *tang bo yang zhong* represent an interpolation repeating the next entry in the text; therefore they have not been translated here.
- 62 In the commentary by Qian Peiming (*Yuejue shu zhaji*, 8), the character *yue* (to speak) in the original text is said to have been used in error for “Yue.”
- 63 This site has been identified at the major Wu tomb discovered in Dantu County. Some scholars believe it to be the tomb of King Yumei of Wu; see He Guangyue, *Zhou yuanliu shi*, 1073.
- 64 “Metal Gate” (Jinmen) is given by mistake for Artisan’s Gate (Jiangmen), also known as Gan Jiangmen (Gan Jiang’s Gate), a gate in the eastern wall of the city; see Liao Zhihao et al., *Suzhou shihua*, 17.
- 65 The name of this king of Yue is not recorded in the king list in Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 41.1747.
- 66 The King Xiang mentioned here probably refers to King Qingxiang of Chu (r. 298–263 BCE), who was King Kaolie’s father. It is clear, however, that the *Lost Histories of Yue* does not follow the standard king list for the Chu monarchy as found in *Records of the Grand Historian* and other ancient texts.
- 67 The existence of local historical records is attested to here. There seems to have been an enormous number of histories that have not been transmitted, many apparently structurally close to the annalistic style of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*; see Chen Qitai, *Shixue yu Zhongguo wenhua chuantong*, 37–45.
- 68 According to Zhou Shengchun (*Wu Yue chungqiu jijiao huikao*, 66 [“Helü neizhuan”]), the daughter of the lord of Qi particularly asked to be buried at Mount Yuxi, because it was on the road to Qi. There is a strong local tradition associating Mount Yuxi with Mount Yu in Changshu County, but in spite of exhaustive searches, no trace of any ancient tomb has been found there; see Ye Wenxian, *Wuguo lishi yu Wu wenhua tanmi*, 67.
- 69 Here *xu* (emptiness) is being read as *xu* (wastes).
- 70 Princesses of the kingdom of Wu (and indeed other kingdoms in the late Spring and Autumn period and Warring States era) were known by the title *zhu*; see, for example, Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 15.705. The husband of a princess would therefore have been known by the title *xuzhu*; see Yu Yue, *Yuejue shu zhaji*, 55. Sons-in-law of the Wu royal house are known to have been treated with considerable generosity; see Xie Chen, *Gouwu shi xinkao*, 86.
- 71 Part of this entry is thought to be missing; see Zhang Zongxiang, *Yuejue shu jiaozhu*, 2.7a.
- 72 This is a most intriguing reference. The kingdom of Wu is known to have undertaken an active program of diplomacy in the late Spring and Autumn period, and its most famous ambassador was Prince Jizha, who apparently visited a number of

- states in the Zhou confederacy in 544 BCE. Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 1161–1167 [Xiang 29]. The names of other Wu ambassadors, such as Qu Huyong, who traveled to Jin in 542 BCE, were also recorded in ancient Chinese texts; *ibid.*, 1189 [Xiang 31]. Virtually nothing is known about reciprocal diplomatic visits, although an embassy from Lord Ping of Jin (r. 557–532 BCE) to Wu is mentioned in the *Garden of Stories* (Shuoyuan). Xiang Zonglu, *Shuoyuan jiaozheng*, 223 [“Zhengjian”].
- 73 Chisongzi, Master Red Pine, is mentioned in a number of ancient Chinese texts as the teacher of Diku; see, for example, Xu Weiyu, *Hanshi waizhuan jishi*, 195 (5.28); and Chen Li, *Baihu tong shuzheng*, 255 [“Pisai”]. The relationship between this individual and the site recorded here is not at all clear.
- 74 Zhang Zongxiang (*Yuejue shu jiaozhu*, 2.7a) suggests that the text is corrupt at this point. He believes the reference to sacrifices to Wu Zixu belong to an entry about Xu Mountain. This line is omitted from the version of the text given in Liu Jianguo, *Xinyi Yuejue shu*, 46.
- 75 Zhang Zongxiang (*Yuejue shu jiaozhu*, 2.7a) notes that the name of this mountain was generally given as Mount Zuoe.
- 76 Dong Chuping and Jin Yongping (*Wu Yue wenhua zhi*, 273) offer an interesting suggestion for interpreting this section of *Tales of the Lands of Wu*. On the basis of a reconstructed pronunciation of the word *zuo*, they argue that this word is a homophone for the word for “corpse” in the ancient Wu language. Gu Jiegang (*Suzhou shizhi biji*, 39) suggests that the king who renamed this place was King Fuchai of Wu.
- 77 The fall of this meteorite is still commemorated in the names Meteorite Canal (Luoxingjing) and Meteorite Village (Luoxingcun), which stand near the site; see Wang Jiaju, *Suzhou shanshui*, 187.
- 78 The kingdom of Xu was conquered by Wu in 512 BCE; however, Xu culture continued to exert a major influence in the region, as can be seen from such finds as a Warring States era tomb discovered outside Shaoxing that contained many Wu and Xu objects. See Zhejiangsheng wenwu guanli yanjiuhui et al., “Shaoxing 306 hao Zhanguo mu fajue jianbao.”
- 79 I am assuming here that “Yue-Jingwang” refers to a double title of the kind common in the ancient Wu-Yue region, whereby the names of two states ruled by the same person were linked. This kind of usage is often seen in inscriptions on bronze but is also occasionally found in ancient texts; see Shang Zhifu, “Wuguo ducheng de bianqian ji Helü jiandu Suzhou de yuanyou,” 11. A title such as this would imply that this place was built between around 330 BCE, when King Kaolie of Chu conquered Yue, and 221 BCE, when China was unified
- 80 The kingdom of Gan is mentioned in a number of ancient texts, which state that it was conquered by Wu. See, for example, Li Xiangfeng, *Guanzi jiaozhu*, 974 [“Xiaowen”]; and *Zhanguo ce*, 1002 [Zhao 3: “Zhao Huiwenwang sanshi nian”]. The double title Yue-Gan would imply that this place was founded sometime between 465 and around 330 BCE, in other words, after the conquest of Wu by Yue but before the conquest of Yue by Chu.
- 81 The original text of the *Lost Histories of Yue* reads “court historians serving the king

- of Yue” (*Yuewang wangshi*). Liu Dianjue (*Yuejue shu zhuzi suoyin*, 8, n. 8) argues that this phrase should be read “historians serving the king of Yue” (*Yuewang shi*).
- 82 King Yao was a Yue leader who claimed descent from King Goujian and was enfeoffed as the king of Donghai by the first emperor of the Han dynasty in 192 BCE; see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 41.1751.
- 83 The word *haiyan* literally means “sea salt,” and the place was a salt-making center in the Han dynasty; see Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, 28A.1591. The history of salt making in ancient China, in this case, presumably from the evaporation of sea salt, is extremely obscure. For a study of early textual evidence derived in particular from archaeological sources such as excavated bronze vessels and texts, see Flad, *Salt Production*, 47–49.
- 84 The reading of the place-name as Yi, rather than the more usual You, is derived from the Yan Shigu commentary on the *History of the Han Dynasty*; see Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, 28A.1592, n. 4.
- 85 The terminology of pilgrimage at the time focused on the numinous nature (*ling*) of mountaintops and the importance of making contact with the spirits (*shen*) that resided there. Naquin and Yü, “Pilgrimage in China,” 11.
- 86 It is not clear what feature of the city measured 170 *bu*, and hence the text seems to be corrupt at this point. *Ge* is here translated as “booby-trapped,” following the commentary in Zhang, *Yuejue shu jiaozhu*, 2.8b. This type of trap is mentioned in a number of other ancient Chinese texts; see, for example, Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, 359 [“Quqie”]. The device is a kind of bamboo structure that supports nets, which fall on the victim when triggered.
- 87 Shaman Xian is a Shang dynasty figure mentioned in a number of ancient Chinese texts, including Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 3.100. The *Correct Meanings* commentary associates this individual with this reference in the *Lost Histories of Yue*. According to Fan Chengda (*Wujun zhi*, 15.220), Mount Yu was the site of the tomb of Zhongyong, who accompanied his older brother, Wu Taibo, south to found the kingdom of Wu and who was the direct ancestor of the Wu royal house. It is also supposed to have been the site of the tomb of the lady from Qi, who was married to King Helü of Wu’s oldest son. The identification of this site with Shaman Xian can also be found in Yue Shi, *Taiping huanyu ji*, 91.1819, which quotes a description that is said to come from the *Lost Histories of Yue*, though it is missing from the transmitted text.
- 88 The name Wuxi is a transliteration into Chinese characters of a Yue word; see Zhou and You, “Gu Yueyu diming chutan,” 61. The meaning of the term is not known. For a report on the excavation of the remains of the walls described here, see Zhonggong Jiangsusheng weiyuanjiushi, *Jiangsu wenwu*, 151.
- 89 Lord Chunshen’s sacrifice of an ox here is also mentioned in Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, 28A.1591, presumably based on this account in the *Lost Histories of Yue*.
- 90 Here the character *xie* (to write) stands for *xie* (to irrigate). This is a common textual variant in Han dynasty texts.
- 91 For further information about this place, see Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, 28A.1590.
- 92 The association between Piling and Prince Jizha of Wu is discussed exhaustively in Luo Wobai and Shi Hong, *Changzhou shihua*.

- 93 For a discussion of the excavations that have been carried out at this site, see Liang Baiquan, *Wu Yue wenhua*, 46. The design of this small walled settlement is also discussed in detail in Wheatley, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters*, 146. From the lack of evidence of ancient buildings, it has been suggested that this site was originally used either for ceremonial purposes or as an emergency military encampment; see von Falkenhausen, “The Waning of the Bronze Age,” 526–527.
- 94 King Fuchai committed suicide after his kingdom was conquered by King Goujian of Yue. Some accounts say that he cut his own throat (e.g., Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 1719 [Ai 22]), some that he hanged himself (e.g., Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 31.1475). This translation follows the *Guide to Hidden Meanings* (Suoyin) commentary to *Records of the Grand Historian* in interpreting “Yougao” as the name of a neighborhood and “Beiyowei” as the name of a place; see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 31.1475, nn. 2 and 3. The tomb of King Fuchai of Wu has not yet been discovered; however, a cache of royal jades that is believed to be from a site associated with his tomb was excavated in 1986. Qian Gonglin, “Guanyu Wuxian Yanshan chunqiu yuqi jiaozang xingzhi de zai renshi.”
- 95 The Feng Tong¹ mentioned here is likely to be the same person as the Feng Tong² mentioned elsewhere in the *Lost Histories of Yue*, a close friend of Prime Minister Pi’s. *Records of the Grand Historian*, however, mentions a Feng Tong¹ who was a grandee of Yue. Yu Yue (*Yuejue shu zhaji*, 55) argues that the person mentioned in *Records of the Grand Historian* is a conflation of two separate individuals, the Feng Tong (however the name was spelled) who was a friend of Prime Minister Pi’s (of Wu) and Grandee Fu Tong, who was a grandee of Yue, mentioned in Zhou Shengcun, *Wu Yue chunqiu jijiao huikao*, 113 [“Goujian ru chen waizhuan”]. In 1788, a bell bearing an inscription saying that it had been made for Grandee Feng Tong² was discovered at Changshu; see Dong Chuping and Jin Yongping, *Wu Yue wenhua zhi*, 106. The difficulty in distinguishing this nomenclature is likely the result of having no standard system of transcribing foreign names phonetically.
- 96 The original text reads *han*, not *hai* (sea). The translation here follows the commentary in Zhang Zongxiang, *Yuejue shu jiaozhu*, 2.11a. Liu Dianjue (*Yuejue shu zhuzi suoyin*, 11) suggests that the character *gu* (in antiquity) is given by mistake instead of the character *wang* (king).
- 97 The original text reads *shiliu gao zhang ba chi*. In accordance with the text below, the character *shi* (ten) has been amended to read *hu* (door). See Qian Peiming, *Yuejue shu zhaji*, 11.
- 98 Liu Jianguo (*Xinyi Yuejue shu*, 61) notes that this line is missing the character *hou* (rear).
- 99 This translation follows the commentary by Yu Yue (*Yuejue shu zhaji*, 55–56), who argues that “Junshu” is the title of the person in charge of the granary. In Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 202–203, it is given as an office in charge of collecting taxes in kind (such as grain). The use of this title may be anachronistic, but it is not clear from context when this name was supposed to be in use: during the time of Lord Chunshen or during the Han dynasty.
- 100 This account of the life and death of Lord Chunshen is clearly related to that given

- in the *Lost Histories of Yue* chapter “The Outer Tradition of Lord Chunshen” (Waizhuan Chunshenjun). There are, however, significant differences between the references in *Tales of the Lands of Wu*, “The Outer Tradition of Lord Chunshen,” and the biography of Lord Chunshen in *Records of the Grand Historian*, which is the standard account of his life. Both of the *Lost Histories of Yue* accounts agree that Lord Chunshen was enfeoffed in Wu only in the reign of King You of Chu, whereas in Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 78.2394, this enfeoffment is said to have taken place during the reign of King Kaolie of Chu. *Tales of the Lands of Wu*, however, suggests that Lord Chunshen was represented in his fief by his son, the viceroy, a figure not mentioned at all in “The Outer Tradition of Lord Chunshen” or *Records of the Grand Historian*.
- 101 The kingdom of Chu was annexed by Qin in 223 BCE, which, according to this account, was a mere four years after the death of Lord Chunshen, rather than sixteen.
- 102 The translation here follows the suggestion in Liu Dianjue, *Yuejue shu zhuzi suoyin*, 12, that the character *dong* (east) in the original text is given in error instead of *geng* (to change).
- 103 This sentence is worth noting, for it preserves the two kinds of nomenclature used to refer to royalty in pre-unification China. The title of the king of Chu here, and in the rest of the text, is given in northern style: state, name, rank (Chu Weiwang). The title of the king of Yue, however, is given in southern style: state, rank, name (Yuewang Wujiang). After the unification of China, the two styles were increasingly used interchangeably; see Dong Chuping and Jin Yongping, *Wu Yue wenhua zhi*, 44. As befits a text in which many of the sources date to before unification, the *Lost Histories of Yue* preserves the distinction.
- 104 The king list for the kingdom of Chu given here is completely different from that found in other ancient Chinese texts such as *Records of the Grand Historian*. The standard list is as follows: King Wei of Chu (r. 339–329 BCE) was succeeded by his son, King Huai of Chu (r. 328–299 BCE). He was in turn succeeded by his son, King Qingxiang of Chu (r. 298–263 BCE), who was succeeded by his son, King Kaolie of Chu (r. 262–238 BCE). King Kaolie was succeeded by King You of Chu (r. 237–226 BCE), who was supposedly the son of Lord Chunshen. King You was succeeded by his younger brother, King Ai of Chu (r. 226 BCE), who was assassinated after a little more than two months on the throne. His older half brother, King Fuchu of Chu (r. 227–223 BCE), then came to the throne. When the Qin generals Wang Jian and Meng Wu conquered Chu, they captured King Fuchu alive. See Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 40.1720–1737.
- 105 The Gengshi reign era lasted only two years, so this date must be wrong in some way.
- 106 Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 51.1994.
- 107 Yinong Xu (*The Chinese City*, 142) suggests that the Rectifying Mistakes Wall, rather than being an internal structure, was a walled palace complex.
- 108 These events are described in Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 51.1994.
- 109 The character *shi* (ten) is given here in error instead of the character *yi* (one); Liu Pi was enfeoffed in 195 BCE. *Ibid.*, 106.2821. Guangling is the present-day city of Yangzhou.

- 110 Liu Pi's rebellion began in the forty-second year of his reign, 154 BCE, when he was sixty-two years of age; *ibid.*, 106.2827.
- 111 This is the only account of these events that names the person who killed Liu Pi as the younger brother of the king of Yue, Yiwu. Other accounts, such as Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 106.2834, state that Liu Pi was beheaded by order of the Dongyue, who had taken bribes from the Han regime.
- 112 These appointments are not mentioned in any other account of the death of Liu Pi, king of Wu.
- 113 Zhang Zongxiang (*Yuejue shu jiaozhu*, 2.13a) argues that the character *shi* (knight) should be read as *qi* (seven), in which case this phrase should be translated "At the flat open plain 7 *li* east of Artisan's Gate."
- 114 Here I am reading Gong Dafu (Tribute Master of State) as Gong Dafu (Grand Master of State), the fourteenth-highest of twenty titles of honorary nobility awarded to persons of exceptional merit. The information given here seems to be historically accurate. Temples dedicated to deceased emperors located in commanderies or kingdoms under Han control were banned in the fourth year of the Yongguang reign era (40 BCE); see Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, 9.292.
- 115 Liu Jianguo (*Xinyi Yuejue shu*, 68) notes that there was no commandery of this name established during the Han dynasty.

RECORD OF THE LANDS OF WU

- 1 Liu Weiyl, *Zhongguo difangzhi*, 53–59. Three of the known Tang dynasty local gazetteers are transmitted texts: *Book of the Man People [of Yunnan]* (*Manshu*) by Fan Chuo in ten fascicles; *Record of the Geography of Guilin* (*Guilin fengtu ji*) by Mo Xiufu, of 899, of which one fascicle survives; and *Record of the Lands of Wu*. Three additional gazetteers are now known through archaeology: the *Illustrated Guide to Shazhou* (*Shazhou tujing*), dated to around 696 and divided into twenty-five sections; the *Illustrated Guide to Xizhou* (*Xizhou tujing*), which survives only in a highly fragmented form; and the *Gazetteer for the Lands of Shazhou and Yizhou* (*Shazhou Yizhou dizhi*), of around 885, which also survives only in fragments.
- 2 Tuotuo, *Songshi*, 204.5156; and You Mao, *Suichutang shumu*, 41a.
- 3 Wang Ying's rebellion led to his leading a pirate navy to plunder riverine and coastal cities in southern Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Fujian, making him a major threat to social order in the region between 875 and 877. He posed enough of a threat to be recorded in official histories of the dynasty; see Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, 19B.694–698; and Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, 9.265–266. The damage he caused in Suzhou, however, was not sufficiently serious to merit mention in the official histories.
- 4 According to the *Gazetteer for Gusu*, Wang Ying's destruction of the city walls was subsequently repaired by the censor Zhang Bo. Wang Ao et al., *Gusu zhi*, 16.1b. In a later chapter, Li Hui (the censor in charge at the time of the Wang Ying rebellion) is given joint credit. *Ibid.*, 38.14a–14b.
- 5 The first of these texts describes the beauties of Luoyang, with particular reference to its many Buddhist temples, before the fall of the Northern Wei dynasty. Yang

Xuanzhi, *Luoyang qielan ji*. This book has been translated into English twice; see Jenner, *Memories of Lo-yang*; and Yi-t'ung Wang, *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*. The second book describes the pleasures of living in Bianliang (now Kaifeng) before the fall of the Northern Song dynasty, with emphasis on the sensual pleasures available to men of wealth. Meng Yuanlao, *Dongjing menghua lu*. For a translation of this text, see West, "Recollections."

- 6 Lu Guangwei, *Wudi ji*, 3.
- 7 Yuan Kang and Wu Ping, *Yuejue shu*, 87–88 ["Ji junqi"].
- 8 The taming of the flood by the sage-king Yu is mentioned at many stages in *Records of the Grand Historian*, but Lu Guangwei is particularly likely to have been thinking of the reference in the Grand Historian's own comments at the end of the chapter on the Hereditary House of Yue; see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 41.1756. The transmitted text of the *Spring and Autumn Annals of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yue* contains no specific references to Yu's labors, though his success in taming the flood is mentioned in passing in the description of sacrifices to his memory and the establishment of a temple in the Yue region. Zhou Shengchun, *Wu Yue chunqiu jijiao huikao*, 108 ["Yuewang Wuyu waizhuan"].
- 9 Yangzhou is a southern region, located between the sea, the Yangzi River, and Lake Tai; see Kong Yingda, *Shangshu zhengyi*, 173–176 ["Yugong"]. There are no references in this text to the dimensions of the kingdom of Wu, which would indeed be highly anachronistic.
- 10 The lunar lodge Dou, or the Southern Dipper, was traditionally interpreted as referring to six stars from the constellation Sagittarius. Nü consisted of four stars from the constellation Aquarius. Sun and Kistemaker, *The Chinese Sky*, 158.
- 11 The term *wang* (honored) is an early imperial era designation for districts that contained more than four thousand registered households. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles*, 562.
- 12 The tax on salt was highly profitable for the government during the Tang dynasty; it has been estimated that by the year 799, this tax was producing half of the annual revenue. Twitchett, "The Salt Commissioners," 67.
- 13 There remains a strong association between Meili and Taibo, the founder of the ruling house of Wu. The history of the main temple to Wu Taibo at Meili is described in detail in Ye Wenxian, *Wuguo lishi yu Wu wenhua tanmi*, 37–39. The temple is believed to have been founded in the Eastern Han dynasty, although the present structure dates to the Ming. The deity is known to have received numerous enfeoffments in successive dynasties; for example, Emperor Ming of the Jin dynasty (r. 323–325) granted the title King of Three Yieldings (Sanrang Wang), with the right to represent the Great Earl of Wu in royal robes. The cult also received extensive imperial patronage in the Tang and Qing dynasties.
- 14 This account of the first couple of generations of the Wu royal house is derived from Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 31.1446.
- 15 Prince Jizha of Wu's most famous mission to the states of the Zhou confederacy took place in 544 BCE and is described in considerable detail in Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 1161–1167 [Xiang 29].

- 16 Quoted in *ibid.*, 1484–1485 [Zhao 27]. The speech appears with identical wording in Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 31.1465.
- 17 Li Shan et al., *Wenxuan*, 69 [“Wudu fu”]. This translation is derived from Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, vol. 1: 395.
- 18 This gate would later become the most famous of all the access routes into Suzhou, for it was the gate by which travelers reached the city from the Grand Canal. Shan Gu, *Suzhou yaowang Gusutai*, 24–28.
- 19 Lu Ji, a native of the city of Suzhou and a direct descendant of Lu Xun, a key figure in the founding of the Three Kingdoms era Wu dynasty, was one of the most important writers and literary critics of the Jin dynasty. He is best remembered today as the author of the “Rhapsody on Literature” (*Wenfu*), an extended discussion of the nature of the creative process. It has been translated many times into English; see Achilles Fang, “Rhymeprose on Literature”; Hughes, *The Art of Letters*; and Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, 73–181. The lines quoted here are derived from the opening of the poem “A Journey to Wu” (*Wu quxing*); see Guo Maoqian, *Yuefu shi ji*, 64.934.
- 20 The history of this gate is described in Yi Ran, *Xumen*.
- 21 There are now three waterways with this name, which refers to the arrival of the Yue army in the vicinity of Suzhou in 473 BCE. The first to be given this name is the one that runs from Stone Lake; see Zhengxie Suzhoushi Huqiuqu weiyuanhui, *Shihu shang Fangshan*, 21–22.
- 22 The history of this gate is described in detail in Xu Wentao, *Suzhou gu Panmen*.
- 23 Sun Jian, a minor southern warlord at the time of the collapse of the Han dynasty, was the father of Sun Quan, the first emperor of the Wu dynasty. When Sun Quan established the Wu dynasty in 229, his father received the posthumous title Emperor Wulie (Martial and Brilliant); see Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, 46.1093.
- 24 Sun Ce was Sun Jian’s oldest son and Sun Quan’s brother. He played a major role in the establishment of the Wu dynasty but was assassinated before his plans reached fruition. It was therefore his younger brother, Sun Quan, who became the first emperor of Wu. For a biography of Sun Ce, see *ibid.*, 46.1101–1109. According to this account, both Sun Jian and Sun Ce were buried close to Suzhou’s city walls. According to modern scholarship, however, Sun Jian was buried in Danyang County, where his tomb is today the subject of a city-level protection unit; see Guojia wenwu ju, *Zhongguo wenwu ditu ji*, 227. The location of Sun Ce’s tomb seems to be unknown.
- 25 The term *si* represents the snake in the twelve-animal Chinese zodiac; however, it also represents a geographic location in the southeast. See Zhang Zongxiang, *Lunheng jiaozhu*, 457 [“Yandu”]: “The position of *chen* (dragon) and *si* (snake) is in the southeast,” whereby *chen* stands for Wu and *si* for Yue.
- 26 For the biography of this distinguished scholar, an expert on the *Book of Documents* and the *Gulian’s Tradition of the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Gulian zhuan*), who abandoned his official career to become a recluse in Suzhou, see Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, 67.2917–2927.
- 27 Mo Ye subsequently became the deity of the forge, remarkable for the popularity of her legend both with members of the literati elite and with ordinary smiths. There

- are also a number of related legends recorded in local gazetteers. Several relatives of smiths who voluntarily threw themselves into the furnace to allow the metal to fuse properly were worshipped in the Wu-Yue region during the imperial era, in particular a girl named Li E, who seems to have become a favorite deity for Jiangnan metalworkers; see Li Qiao, *Zhongguo hangyeshen chongbai*, 120. A number of similar legends about metalworkers are recorded in other regions as well; see Zhu Guozhen, *Yongchuang xiaopin*, 94.
- 28 The legend of Gan Jiang and Mo Ye is one of the most famous and important myths about the manufacture of swords to be found in China. The earliest surviving version of this story is found in Zhou Shengchun, *Wu Yue chunqiu jijiao huikao*, 40 ["Helü neizhuan"]. For a comprehensive analysis of the development of this legend, see Lanciotti, "Sword Casting and Related Legends" (1955); and Lanciotti, "Sword Casting and Related Legends" (1956).
 - 29 Yang Su was an enormously important figure in the Northern Zhou dynasty government who went on to play a key role in the founding of the Sui dynasty. At that time his power was said to be secondary only to that of the emperor himself. He was also instrumental in the establishment of Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty (r. 604–618), the second emperor. However, his power aroused the emperor's suspicions, and Yang Su eventually died after refusing medication for his illness, fearing that if he survived, he and his entire family would be executed. For his biography, see Wei Zheng, *Suishu*, 48.1281–1292. For an excellent English-language study of his historical role, see Xiong, *Emperor Yang*, 23–45.
 - 30 For a biography of Bu Zhi, see Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, 52.1236–1242.
 - 31 For a biography of Lu Xun, one of the key figures in the establishment of the Three Kingdoms era Wu dynasty, see *ibid.*, 58.1343–1361. Lu Xun is now most famous for his brilliant success in the campaign to retake the province of Jing, which resulted in the capture and execution of Guan Yu. Bu Zhi replaced Lu Xun as counselor in chief in 246, the year before Lu Xun's death.
 - 32 Zhou Yu was a close friend of Sun Ce's and served the founder of the Wu dynasty, Sun Quan, after Sun Ce's death. His brilliant military career was cut short when he became ill and died at the age of thirty-six while engaged in an attack on Shu. Sun Quan's admiring comment is derived from *Biographies from Beyond the Yangzi River* (Jiangbiao zhuan); this text is quoted in Pei Songzhi's commentary in Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, 54.1271, n. 1. The story of Zhou Yu's knowledge of music is quoted practically verbatim from Zhou Yu's official biography; see *ibid.*, 54.1259.
 - 33 Gu Yewang, a Liang dynasty scholar and official, is today most famous as the author of the *Jade Chapters* (Yupian), a dictionary defining some twelve thousand characters, which he completed in 543 and that is still extant. The *Jade Chapters* was subsequently used as the basis for *The Myriad Things of the Universe Defined, in Seal Script and in Clerical Script* (Tenrei banshō meigi), the very first dictionary for the Japanese language, written around 830. For a detailed study of the history and development of this book, see Lü Hao, *Zhuanli wanwu mingyi yanjiu*.
 - 34 Gu Yewang's *Chart of Auspicious Omens* survives under the *Jade Talismans and Auspicious Charts* (Yufu ruitu); a 1647 edition of this text is preserved in the National

Central Library, Taipei. The role of such charts in Daoist practice is considered in Despeux, "Talismans and Diagrams." The *Imperial Readings* text mentioned here does not appear to have survived.

- 35 According to the biographies of the disciples of Confucius given in Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 67.2206, Tantai Mieming "traveled southward until he reached the Yangzi River." The eighth-century *Guide to Hidden Meanings* commentary by Sima Zhen on *Records of the Grand Historian* adds: "Today, southeast of Wu, there is Tantai Lake, where some remnants of his passing still remain." See *ibid.*, n. 1. This seems to be the origin of the story that the lake was formed when Tantai Mieming's house collapsed.
- 36 The story of Cai Jing is derived from the *Biographies of Divine Transcendents* (Shenxian zhuan). It describes events that are supposed to have taken place during the reign of Emperor Huan of the Eastern Han dynasty (r. 146–168); see Ge Hong, *Shenxian zhuan*, 3.507–508.
- 37 A couple of stories about this man are included in the biography of Lord Mengchang in Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 75.2359–2361.
- 38 Guo Maoqian, *Yuefu shi ji*, 85.1203. A single song attributed to this famous courtisan is preserved in *Collected Poetry from the Music Bureau* (Yuefu shi ji).
- 39 For Zhu Maichen's biography, see Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, 64A.2791–2794.
- 40 This quotation is not in the present text of the *Lost Histories of Yue*.
- 41 Yuan Shansong is not accorded an official biography in the *History of the Jin Dynasty* but figures prominently in the biography of Sun En; see Fang Xuanling, *Jinshu*, 100.2633.
- 42 Sun En was a native of the city of Langya in Shandong. He raised a Daoist-inspired rebellion in the south against the rule of Sima Yuanxian (382–402), who acted as regent for the severely disabled Emperor An of the Jin dynasty (r. 397–419). After a number of naval battles, Sun En was defeated and drowned at sea. The appalling violence that marked the Sun En rebellion is discussed in Shek, "Sectarian Eschatology and Violence," 104–105.
- 43 For a biography of this disciple of Confucius, see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 67.2201–2202.
- 44 In ancient Chinese historical texts, King Helü of Wu is more commonly said to have had two sons: Crown Prince Zhonglei, who died young, and the future King Fuchai of Wu.
- 45 For the earliest detailed account of the history of this temple, supposedly built with material taken from Gusu Tower, see Fan Chengda, *Wujun zhi*, 12.166.
- 46 Lu Mao, a member of the highly distinguished Lu family of Suzhou, was a senior minister during the Three Kingdoms era Wu dynasty; see Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, 57.1336. Lu Xun was Lu Ji's grandfather.
- 47 These names are thought to be those of the cranes that were kept as pets by these three members of the Lu family. Lu Ji is said to have mentioned the name of his crane, Heli, just before he died. Fang Xuanling, *Jinshu*, 54.1480.
- 48 For a history of the salt monopoly in China, see Flad, *Salt Production*, 35–37.
- 49 Zhang Tinggui was a significant figure in the government of Empress Wu Zetian. For his official biography, see Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, 101.3150–3154.

- 50 The story of the deaths of these three men is given in the *Spring and Autumn Annals of Master Yan* (Yanzi chunqiu). According to this account, the three treated Yan Ying (d. 500 BCE), the prime minister of the state, rudely. He countered by giving them two peaches and ordering them to divide them up among themselves according to whoever had achieved the greatest merit. In the subsequent argument, all three ended up committing suicide. Wu Zeyu, *Yanzi chunqiu jishi*, 164–165 (2.24 “Jinggong yang yongshi sanren wu junchen zhi yi. Yanzi jian”).
- 51 Given that the story referred to here does not survive, this reference is entirely mysterious.
- 52 The posthumous title Taizu was granted to Li Hu, the father of the founder of the Tang dynasty, Li Yuan (Tang Gaozu, r. 618–626).
- 53 Although this story is attributed to *Records of the Grand Historian*, it is not found in the present transmitted text.
- 54 The transmitted text of the *Spring and Autumn Annals of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yue* does not contain this quotation, although there are many references to it in other texts; see Zhou Shengchun, *Wu Yue chunqiu jijiao huikao*, 263–264 [“Wu Yue chunqiu yiwen”].
- 55 The name changes this place has undergone as a result of taboos are described in detail in Gao Deji, *Pingjiang jishi*, 147.
- 56 The two Wang brothers, originally natives of Langya in Shandong, both enjoyed enormously distinguished official careers during the Jin dynasty. See Fang Xuanling, *Jinshu*, 65.1756–1758; and Zhu Zhuyu, *Shishuo xinyu huijiao jizhu*, 165 [“Zhengshi”], 328–330, [“Yaliang”], and 424–425 [“Shangyu”].
- 57 The date given here for the Wang brothers’ generous gifts of their homes to form a religious foundation is clearly wrong but is repeated in virtually all accounts. In one account, however, Emperor Cheng of the Jin dynasty is said to have given Tiger Hill to the Wang family in 327. See Gao Deji, *Pingjiang jishi*, 143. For a description of the process by which Tiger Hill was given to the Buddhist church by the Wang brothers, see Gu Yilu, *Huqiushan zhi*, 171, which states that they were so impressed by Zhudaoyi, a monk from Suzhou, that they made the gift in the middle of the Taihe reign era (366–370).
- 58 Hu Zhenniang (also given as Zhenniang) is a local young woman who lived during the Tang dynasty and committed suicide rather than be forced into prostitution. Her tomb is also described in a Yuan dynasty local history; see Gao Deji, *Pingjiang jishi*, 143–144. This account explains the importance of the site for literati visitors and notes the number of inscriptions around her tomb.
- 59 The name of the provincial graduate is also occasionally given as Tan Yan. According to *Recorded Events in the History of Pingjiang [Suzhou]* (Pingjiang jishi), his verse was written in the period 756–757; see *ibid.*, 143–144. The poem reads: “There are many tombs below Tiger Hill, / Surmounted by sad pines and catalpas. / What makes people of this age value sex so highly, / That they write poems only on the tomb of Zhenniang?”
- 60 Lu Wan, a native of the city of Suzhou, was a senior minister during the Jin dynasty who led the defense of the region during the Su Jun rebellion. He figures promi-

nently in the biography of Emperor Cheng of the Jin dynasty; see, for example, Fang Xuanling, *Jinshu*, 7.175.

- 61 Zhi Dun, an eminent Eastern Jin dynasty monk and poet, figures a couple of times in *New Tales of the World* as a man with an exceptional understanding and love of horses. Although the account given here suggests that he became some kind of transcendent, other stories suggest that he died at Luoyang or Yuyao in 366 in a perfectly normal manner. See Zhu Zhuyu, *Shishuo xinyu huijiao jizhu*, 112 [“Yanyu”] and 548 [“Shangshi”]; and Shi Huijiao, *Gaoseng zhuan*, 4.164.
- 62 This site was later the location of the Temple of Buddhist Law (Fayinsi); see Wu Enpei, *Gouwu wenhua de xianzai chanshi*, 239.
- 63 Zhu Zhi’s original name was Zhu Huan, but it was changed because of the taboo on the personal name of the Song Emperor Qinzong (r. 1126–1127). A native of Wu County, he served the Wu dynasty as a general and was enfeoffed for his services as Marquis of Jiaying. For his official biography, see Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, 56.1312–1315. In the case of Lu Yungong, *Record of the Lands of Wu* incorrectly states that he served the Jin dynasty; it should read Liang dynasty. For Lu Yungong’s official biography, see Yao Silian, *Liangshu*, 50.724–726.
- 64 Su Jun, one of the most important generals of the Jin dynasty, played a crucial role in the defense of the capital and the survival of Emperor Ming of Jin in 324 when they were under attack by the warlord Wang Dun (266–324). Emperor Ming’s death at the age of twenty-six placed his four-year-old son on the throne as Emperor Cheng of the Jin dynasty. Emperor Cheng’s uncle, Yu Liang (289–340), became regent and was determined to strip Su Jun of power. Su Jun responded with rebellion; he captured Emperor Cheng and forced him to move to Shitoucheng. Su Jun was killed in battle in 328. For his biography, see Fang Xuanling, *Jinshu*, 100.2628–1631.
- 65 This story is also given in Xu Song, *Jiankang shilu*, 7.148.
- 66 Lu Na was an important figure in the government of Emperor Xiaowu of the Jin dynasty (r. 373–397); see Fang Xuanling, *Jinshu*, 77.2026.
- 67 For the official biography of Xie An, one of the great statesmen of the Jin dynasty, see *ibid.*, 79.2072–2077. Xie An governed the country virtually single-handedly during the reign of Emperor Xiaowu of the Jin dynasty and played a leading role in the regime’s victory at the battle of the Fei River in 383, even though his forces were massively outnumbered by the enemy.
- 68 This story is not found in the present text of the *Lost Histories of Yue*.
- 69 The present text of the *Spring and Autumn Annals of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yue* does include a story about the suicide of King Helü of Wu’s daughter, but it is given in somewhat different terms from those found here. “The king of Wu had a daughter named Tengyu, and at the time when he was plotting his attack on Chu, he had dinner with his wife and daughter, during which they ate a steamed fish. The king ate half and gave the rest to his daughter. His daughter was angry and said: ‘For your majesty to make me eat your leavings is a humiliation for me. I cannot bear to live any longer.’ She then killed herself. King Helü felt sorry for her and buried her outside the Heavenly Gate on the west side of the capital. They dug a pond and piled up a tomb mound, carved a stone stele, and built a coffin, and bronze vessels,

- jade cups, silver goblets, and pearl-encrusted robes were placed inside her grave to accompany her into the afterlife. Then white cranes danced in the marketplace in Wu, and he ordered ten thousand people to come out and watch; then he ordered the cranes, men, and women to all enter the gates of the tomb. Then the traps were sprung to seal them inside, and thus the living were killed to accompany the dead.” Zhou Shengchun, *Wu Yue chunqiu jijiao huikao*, 53 [“Helü neizhuan”].
- 70 This quotation is derived from the *Dictionary of Refined Words*; see Li Xueqin, *Erya zhushu*, 213 [“Shidi”]. However, it is not found in the present transmitted text of the *History of the Han Dynasty*.
- 71 Guo Pu was a Jin dynasty scholar noted for his interest in geography and etymology. In addition to his commentary on the third-century BCE *Dictionary of Refined Words*, he also produced important early commentaries on the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* and the *Tale of King Mu of Zhou* (Mu Tianzi zhuan). The quotation given here is thought to have been derived originally from Guo Pu’s commentary on the *Dictionary of Refined Words*, but it is not found in the present transmitted text.
- 72 This entry is not found in the transmitted text of the *Lost Histories of Yue*.
- 73 The source of this quotation has been lost.
- 74 Shanghai shifan daxue guji zhenglizu, *Guoyu*, 643 [“Yueyu xia”].
- 75 The *Account of Wu*, by Zhang Bo, is a book in thirty fascicles; it appears in the catalog of the Sui imperial library but is no longer extant. See Wei Zheng, *Suishu*, 33.955 (this entry appears under the listing for the *Records of Wu*, or *Wuji*, in nine fascicles). However, according to Liu Xu (*Jiu Tangshu*, 46.1995), the book was still in existence at that time.
- 76 The text that is the source for this quotation does not survive, though it is quoted extensively and mentioned in a number of catalogs of the imperial library; see Wei Zheng, *Suishu*, 33.982 (at this time the *Record of Local Customs* is said to consist of three fascicles); see also Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, 46.2014 (here the book is described as containing ten fascicles).
- 77 This text does not survive. The beginning of this quotation, describing alternative names for Lake Tai, is given in slightly fuller form in Xu Jian, *Chuxue ji*, 7.139.
- 78 *Record of the Dongting Mountains* does not survive; all quotations from it are derived from this passage in *Record of the Lands of Wu*. The story of a miraculous text, *Five Talismans of the Numinous Treasure* (Lingbao wufu), being discovered in a grotto and presented to the king of Wu is supposedly derived from the *Lost Histories of Yue*, although this tale is not found in the transmitted text. See Kaltenmark, “Ling-pao,” 561–563. A somewhat different version of this story is recorded in *The Master Who Embraces Simplicity* (Baopuzi) by Ge Hong (284–364). According to this, the king of Wu obtained the text of *Five Talismans of the Numinous Treasure* when he was building his palace and a red cardinal appeared, holding the document in its mouth. See Wang Ming, *Baopuzi neipian jiaoshi*, 229 [“Bianwen”]. These two different tales concerning the origin of the text may reflect the fact that there were two versions of the Numinous Treasure talismans in circulation in medieval China, one associated with the Shangqing tradition and the other with the Lingbao tradition, in the possession of the Ge family. Lippello, *Auspicious Omens and Miracles*, 227–236.

- 79 Kong Yingda, *Shangshu zhengyi*, 173 ["Yugong"].
- 80 For Zhang Han's official biography, see Fang Xuanling, *Jinshu*, 92.2384. The story that he resigned his job because he missed the food of his hometown is derived from Zhu Zhuyu, *Shishuo xinyu huijiao jizhu*, 340–341 ["Shijian"]. In *Tales Told in Central Wu* (Zhongwu jiwen), Gong Mingzhi (1091–1182) records a poem written by Zhang Han in praise of his favorite fish, "Song of the Song River Perch" (Luyu ge), which is a parody of a song written by Liu Bang, the founder of the Han dynasty. Liu Bang's song reads: "A great wind rises and the clouds are swept away; / Having struck awe into the realm, I return to my old hometown. / Where will I find the brave knights who will guard this vast land?" See Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 8.389; and Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, 1B.74. Zhang Han's parody reads: "The autumn wind rises and the tree leaves are swept away; / In the waters of the Wu River, the perch grow fat. / Posted three thousand *li* away from my home, / It is impossible to prevent myself from feeling sad." Gong Mingzhi, *Zhongwu jiwen*, 3.61.
- 81 Sima Jiong, King of Qi, served as regent for the severely disabled Emperor Hui of the Jin dynasty. He became involved in the war of the Eight Kings (291–306) and was executed after launching a failed preemptive strike against Sima Yi (277–304), King of Changsha, one of Emperor Hui's other regents. Sima Jiong does not have an official biography in the *History of the Jin Dynasty*, but his role in the politics of the era is extensively documented in Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, 84.3358–3378.
- 82 King Gong of Cao was the title awarded to Li Ming, who, as mentioned here, was the fourteenth son of Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty and the younger brother of Emperor Gaozong (r. 649–683). Li Ming was forced to commit suicide just before his older brother's death.
- 83 Qin Gao was a transcendent from the ancient kingdom of Zhao (modern-day Hebei, Shanxi, and Shaanxi) whose biography was included in many ancient texts; see Gan Bao, *Soushen ji*, 1.5–6; and Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaozheng*, 23.560. None of these texts suggest any connection with the Wu region. There is a story in *Biographies of Exemplary Transcendents* (Liexian zhuan) that records how a man named Master Ying living in Wu climbed onto the back of a carp and was carried up into the sky; see Wang Shumin, *Liexian zhuan jiaojian*, 134. It is not clear how this story is related to that of Qin Gao and Ding Fahai given here.
- 84 The story of Ding Lingwei, a Han dynasty transcendent from Liaodong who metamorphosed into a crane, is immortalized in Tao Qian, *Soushen houji*, 1.15–16.
- 85 The account given here is derived from Liang Hong's biography in the *History of the Later Han Dynasty*; see Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, 83.2765–2768. It quotes his most famous work, the "Five Complaints" (Wuyi ge), which bewails government corruption. Gao Botong is mentioned as having given Liang Hong a home in Wu. Mount Hong, a mountain roughly equidistant between Suzhou and Wuxi, was named to commemorate him and is the site of a recently discovered Yue era aristocratic cemetery. Nanjing bowuyuan, Jiangsusheng kaogu yanjiusuo, and Wuxishi Xishanqu wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, *Hongshan Yuemu fajue baogao*, 1–7.
- 86 The story of Master Ji of Yanling burying his son is given in the *Record of Ritual* (Liji); see Sun Xidan, *Liji jijie*, 11.294 ["Tan Gong xia"]. There are periodic men-

- tions during the imperial era of individuals requesting unostentatious funerals in imitation of the one Master Ji held for his son; see Kuhn, “Decoding Tombs,” 17. For example, when Shi Bao, a prominent member of the Jin court, died in 272, his family wanted an elaborate funeral but was thwarted by his will, which demanded that he be buried according to the method ascribed to Master Ji of Yanling.
- 87 Dai Yong lived in reclusion until the death of his brother, Dai Bo, and then traveled to Wu, where he became famous as a calligrapher, musician, and scholar. Shen Yue, *Songshu*, 93.2276–2278.
- 88 This foundation was more commonly known as Communicating with the Mystery Temple (Tongxuansi).
- 89 This story of the miraculous appearance of the two stone statues was enormously popular in the Tang dynasty and was often depicted in art. A representation of these events can be seen in Dunhuang Cave 323, which illustrates the ceremony held on the shore for the two statues. See Hung Wu, “Buddhist Elements,” 301–302, 352 fig. 86. The earliest surviving version of this story seems to be that found in Daoxuan, *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantonglu*, 2106.413b–414a; it presumably is the source used by Lu Guangwei and is much more detailed, given that it names a single fisherman who first sighted the statues as well as the nun who came to the shore to welcome them. This version also includes a section in which some Daoists attempt to claim that the statues represent celestial masters, only to be greeted by lashing waves. For a translation of this story, see Lippiello, *Auspicious Omens and Miracles*, 190–191.
- 90 The two inscriptions are now known as the “Inscription on the Image of the Kāśyapa Buddha” (Shijiawen foxiang ming) and the “Inscription on the Image of the Vipāśyin Buddha” (Weiwei foxiang ming); see Zhang Pu, *Han Wei Liuchao baisan jia ji*, 82B.235.
- 91 Lu Jianzhi, a distinguished Tang dynasty statesman and native of the city of Suzhou, was also noted for his exceptionally fine calligraphy; see Zhang Huaiguan, *Shuduan*, B.3a, 5a–5b; Zhang Yanyuan, *Fashu yaolu*, 8.251–252; and Zhu Changwen, *Mochi bian*, 3.98a.
- 92 For a biography of Lu Gao, see Li Yanshou, *Nanshi*, 48.1204–1205.
- 93 For a biography of Gu Rong, styled Yanxian, a high-ranking official in the Jin dynasty who came from an exceptionally distinguished local family, see Fang Xuanling, *Jinshu*, 68.1811–1815.
- 94 Lu Hongjian is much more famous under the name Lu Yu, the author of the *Classic of Tea* (Chajing), the first book to describe the cultivation and appreciation of tea. For his official biography, see Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, 196.5611–5612. For his role in the development of tea drinking in the Wu region, see Xu Jin’gen, “Wu wenhua yu chadao chengyin de tantao.”
- 95 For the biography of Zhang Rong, a famous local son, see Xiao Zixian, *Nan Qishu*, 41.721–730. Zhang Rong’s collected works, *Sea of Jade* (Yuhai), has long been lost.
- 96 During the Qi dynasty, Lu Yanyuan, the son of Lu Jianzhi, established a reputation as a fine calligrapher in his own right; see Tao Zongyi, *Shushi huiyao*, 5.10b; and Wei Xu, *Mosou*, 1.21b.
- 97 Lu Zeng is mentioned as a fine calligrapher in Tao Zongyi, *Shushi huiyao*, 5.26a.

- 98 Lu Xiang, a native of the city of Suzhou, was a distinguished statesman during the Liang dynasty. For his official biography, see Yao Silian, *Liangshu*, 27.409–411.
- 99 He Zhun was not a major figure in the history of the Jin dynasty, not least because he died relatively young. He Zhun's brother, He Chong, was an extremely significant figure in the government of several emperors and no doubt was key in the selection of He Zhun's daughter as empress to Emperor Mu of the Jin dynasty.
- 100 The name of this particular ward of the city presumably was derived from the legend that both Taibo and Prince Jizha of Wu refused three times to inherit their father's title so that it could pass to a more suitable candidate. It is not clear which of the two men is referred to here. The extent to which their two legends are intertwined is discussed in Zhang Yachu, "Wushi xinzheng," 33.
- 101 The name Kunwei, or "Southwestern," is derived from the *Book of Changes* (Yijing); see Kong Yingda, *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 1.29.
- 102 The name of this ward was derived from that of King Fuchai's palace.
- 103 The term translated here as "autumn wind" (*jinfeng*), which literally means "golden wind," is quoted in a poem by Zhang Xie (d. 307). This interpretation is derived from the commentary by Li Shan et al., *Wenxuan*, 409 ["Zashi"].
- 104 Nangong, or Southern Palace, refers to the asterisms in the southern region of the sky, under the auspices of the Vermilion Bird; see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 27.1299.
- 105 This ward's name is a quotation from the *Book of Changes*; see Kong Yingda, *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 2.102.
- 106 This ward's name is a quotation from the *Book of Changes*; see *ibid.*, 3.137.
- 107 Changgan is the name of a road in the city of Jiankang (now Nanjing); see Li Shan et al., *Wenxuan*, 70 ["Wudu fu"].
- 108 This name was almost certainly chosen as a quotation from the *Book of Songs*; see Kong Yingda, *Maoshi zhengyi*, 544 ["Xi you changchu"].
- 109 The name of this ward is derived from one of the twenty-four annual agricultural festivals, normally held on the twenty-third day of the eighth lunar month.
- 110 The term *tangdi* is generally understood to be a synonym for *changdi* (cherry blossom), in which case, this ward's name is derived from the title of a song in the *Book of Songs*; see Kong Yingda, *Maoshi zhengyi*, 663 ["Changdi"].
- 111 This ward's name is a quotation from the *Book of Changes*; see Kong Yingda, *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 6.283.
- 112 This ward's name is a quotation from the *Songs of Chu* (Chuci); see Huang Linggeng, *Chuci jijiao*, 1068 ["Zhaohun"]. For a translation of the poem, see Hawkes, *Ch'u Tzu*, 103–109.
- 113 The name of this ward is derived from the *Book of Changes*; see Kong Yingda, *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 5.246.
- 114 Shihe is the name of one of the sixty-four hexagrams described in the *Book of Changes*; see *ibid.*, 3.118–123.
- 115 This name is derived from an ode in the *Book of Songs*; see *ibid.*, 714 ["Nan you jiayu"].
- 116 The Jiangsu Ancient Texts Publishing Company (Jiangsu Guji Chubanshe) edition of *Record of the Lands of Wu* gives the name of this ward as Loushu (Humble Shu);

- however, the Complete Library of the Four Branches of Literature (Siku quanshu) edition gives it as Louzhu (Humble Lamp), which seems to make slightly more sense; see Lu Guangwei, *Wudi ji* (Siku Quanshu ed.), 22b.
- 117 The name of this ward is derived from a quotation from *Mencius* (Mengzi); see Yang Bojun, *Mengzi yizhu*, 305 [13.13 “Jinxin shang”].
- 118 In some cases, the term *yuxuan* (jade handle) refers to senior ministers, but in the *Book of Changes*, it refers to the jade rings on a bronze ding; see Kong Yingda, *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 5.244. Given how many other wards in the city of Suzhou have names derived from the *Book of Changes*, it would seem most likely that this is yet another.
- 119 The name of this ward is a quotation from *Xunzi*; see Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 529 [“Zidao”].
- 120 Shicai is the name of a ritual performed in antiquity at the start of a period of study with a master; see Sun Xidan, *Liji jijie*, 15.428 [“Yueling”].
- 121 *Yize* is one of the twelve notes in traditional Chinese music; see Shanghai shifan daxue guji zhenglizu, *Guoyu*, 132 [“Zhouyu xia”].
- 122 *Zhonglü* is one of the twelve notes in traditional Chinese music; see *ibid.*
- 123 Tiangong, or Heavenly Palace, is another name for the Purple Palace asterism; see Wang Niansun, *Guangya shuzheng*, 9A.287 [“Shitian”].
- 124 Fuchun is the name of a city in Zhejiang that changed its name to Fuyang in the Jin dynasty because of the taboo on the personal name of Zheng Achun (d. 326), the widow of Emperor Yuan. The city is still known as Fuyang today.
- 125 The name of this ward is derived from a lost song from the *Book of Songs*; see Kong Yingda, *Maoshi zhengyi*, 711 [“Nangai”].
- 126 Wang Ying was an army officer serving under the command of the military commissioner of the Zhenhai Circuit, Zhao Yin (d. 881), who mutinied in 875 after his success in battle was not rewarded. The rebels captured the city of Suzhou and then built up a formidable naval force, which they used to raid cities along the coast of what is now Zhejiang and Fujian. Wang Ying attempted to surrender to government forces, but the negotiations broke down. In 877, Wang Ying was shot dead by Liu Jurong (d. 889), who went on to lead the government forces against Huang Chao. Liu Jurong’s official biography is given in Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, 186.5424–5425.
- 127 As noted by Liu Weiye (*Zhongguo difangzhi*, 56), this line suggests that *Record of the Lands of Wu* was originally intended to be illustrated.

SUPPLEMENTARY RECORDS TO THE
“ILLUSTRATED GUIDE TO WU COMMANDERY”

- 1 This book has been reprinted in modern times; see Chen Gongliang, *Yanzhou tujing*.
- 2 The most detailed study of the “Map of Pingjiang” is Wang Yu, *Song Pingjiang chengfang kao*. Here the author attempts to identify every landmark named on the map on the basis of surviving Song dynasty records.
- 3 The preface to the *Supplementary Records* has been translated into English; see Sue, “Revelations,” 60–62.

- 4 Qian Gu is perhaps best known today for his anthology of literature about the city of Suzhou, the *Supplement to "Literary Classics from the Wu Capital"* (*Wudu wencui xuji*). This was intended to supplement and update the original *Literary Classics from the Wu Capital* (*Wudu wencui*), produced during the Song dynasty by Zheng Huchen.
- 5 Jin Julin, quoted in Zhu Changwen, *Wujun tujing xuji*, 2.
- 6 The extremely dubious early genealogy of the Fan clan is given in Wang Yunwu, *Song Fan Wenzhenggong (Zhongyan) nianpu*, 1.
- 7 These details are derived from Fan Zhongyan's official biography; see Tuotuo, *Songshi*, 314.10267–10276.
- 8 For a study of Fan Zhongyan's time in Suzhou, see Chen Xuelin, "Fan Zhongyan yu Suzhou diqu zhi fazhan."
- 9 Twitchett, "The Fan Clan's Charitable Estate." In spite of his noted devotion to his hometown and clan, as expressed through the foundation of the Charitable Estate, Fan Zhongyan spent much of his life in Kaifeng and indeed chose to be buried there. His son, Fan Chunren (who lived his entire life in that city), was therefore faced with the challenge of continuing to administer the Charitable Estate from a considerable distance. See Bossler, *Powerful Relations*, 72.
- 10 Zhu Changwen's position was certainly made difficult by the fact that Wang Anshi did not like the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, the canonical text that he had chosen to devote much of his life to studying. Given that the *Spring and Autumn Annals* was not used in the examinations during Wang Anshi's time in power, this meant that students' interest in studying this text was severely limited. Zhu Changwen's disappointment at this state of affairs is mentioned in his introduction to the *Comprehensive Records of the "Spring and Autumn Annals"* (*Chunqiu tongzhi*). Although the book does not survive, Zhu Changwen's introduction is quoted in full in Zhu Yi, *Jingyi kao*, 181.1a–8b.
- 11 For the only full-length English-language study of Wang Anshi, see James Liu, *Reform in Sung China*. For further detailed studies of his life and times, see Deng Guangming, *Wang Anshi*; Li Huarui, *Wang Anshi bianfa yanjiu shi*; and Qi Xia, *Wang Anshi bianfa*.
- 12 Sue, "Revelations," 66–71.
- 13 This account of the founding of the kingdom of Wu by the two older uncles of King Wen of Zhou is almost identical in wording to the opening lines of the "History of the Hereditary House of Wu." Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 31.1445.
- 14 Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 1641 [Ai 7].
- 15 The story that King Wu of Zhou sought out his relatives in Wu and enfeoffed them with various grants of land is given in Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 31.1446, which, however, does not specify the title granted to Zhouzhang.
- 16 Shanghai shifan daxue guji zhenglizu, *Guoyu*, 613 ["Wuyu"].
- 17 The title *zi* (otherwise translated as "viscount") was used during the Zhou dynasty for foreign monarchs who did not ratify their titles with the Zhou king; see Yoshimoto, "Shunjū gotōshaku kō," 16–17. Given that King Shoumeng of Wu ruled a kingdom located beyond the borders of the Zhou confederacy, he naturally did not seek

- approval from the Zhou king for his accession to the throne. Thus the translation “Unratified Monarch” is given here.
- 18 These events are mentioned in *Chunqiu*; see Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 831–832 [Cheng 7].
 - 19 In 506 BCE, the armies of King Helü of Wu sacked Ying, the capital city of the kingdom of Chu; see *ibid.*, 1542–1547 [Ding 4]; and Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 31.1466, 40.1717. The sack of the Chu capital was crucial in defining Wu’s reputation as the dominant military power of the late Spring and Autumn period. King Helü seems to have had nothing to do with campaigns against the states of Qi and Jin; this refers to events in the reign of his son, King Fuchai of Wu.
 - 20 Zhou Shengchun, *Wu Yue chunqiu jijiao huikao*, 113 [“Goujian ru chen waizhuan”].
 - 21 *Ibid.*, 135–136 [“Goujian guiguo waizhuan”].
 - 22 This passage is derived from *ibid.*, 39 [“Helü neizhuan”].
 - 23 This is the earliest-known description of the standard design of the canals in the city of Suzhou, that the waterways have a road running along each side; see Shi Jianhua et al., *Suzhou gucheng de baohu yu gengxin*, 64.
 - 24 Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 1609 [Ai 1].
 - 25 Zhou Bao, a distinguished general at the end of the Tang dynasty, attempted to remain in control of the Jiangnan region as the regime collapsed. He appointed his son-in-law, Yang Maoshi, to be the censor of Suzhou for a brief and highly unpopular term. Zhou Bao lost power when his army mutinied in 887, and he spent the last months of his life in Hangzhou as an honored guest of Qian Liu, later the founder of the Wuyue dynasty; see Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, 257.10994–10996.
 - 26 Qian Qiu was a cousin of Qian Liu’s, the founder of the Wuyue dynasty. As the Tang dynasty collapsed, Qian Liu sent Qian Qiu to capture the city of Suzhou from Xu Yue, who then fled and died at sea. *Ibid.*, 258.11014.
 - 27 Sun Ru was one of Yang Xingmi’s chief rivals for power and was eventually executed by him. Although not granted a biography in the *Annals of the Ten Kingdoms* (*Shiguo chunqiu*), his activities are extensively documented in this book; see Wu Renchen, *Shiguo chunqiu*, 1.5–10.
 - 28 Yang Xingmi, a local warlord, seized power in his home prefecture at the end of the Tang dynasty, laying the foundations for the Ten Kingdoms state of Wu. Although Yang Xingmi died in 905, two years before the final collapse of the Tang dynasty, he was posthumously honored with the title Emperor Taizu of Wu. For a biography of Yang Xingmi, see *ibid.*, 1.1–30.
 - 29 For a description of these events, see Tai Meng’s biography in *ibid.*, 5.92–93.
 - 30 Dong Chang was a warlord who seized power in Hangzhou at the end of the Tang dynasty. In 895, he proclaimed the founding of a new dynasty, Dayue luoping. Although Qian Liu was initially one of Dong Chang’s subordinates, he later turned against him and was eventually captured and executed by Gu Quanwu; see Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, 225B.6466–6469.
 - 31 Qian Chu was the last monarch of the Wuyue dynasty. In 978, he submitted to the authority of the Song dynasty, thus ending the independence of his kingdom. How-

- ever, Qian Chu continued to reign nominally as the king of Wuyue until his death in 988. Wu Renchen, *Shiguo chunqiu*, 82.1186.
- 32 For a study of the importance of the salt tax during the Song dynasty, see Chien, *Salt and State*.
- 33 This passage conflates two pericopes from Yang Bojun, *Lunyu yizhu*, 137.13.9 and 13.10, “Zilu”), which may or may not originally have been intended to be read together.
- 34 This is the opening couplet from the poem “Zhengyue sanri xianxing”; see Gu Xuejie, *Bai Juyi ji*, 540.
- 35 The name Tanjia Alley is derived from the account of the life of Feng Huan, one of the clients of Lord Mengchang of Qi, in *Records of the Grand Historian*; see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 75.2359. The story that Feng Huan was originally from the city of Suzhou is first mentioned in *Record of the Lands of Wu*.
- 36 The biographies of these three distinguished Song dynasty statesmen are given in Fan Chengda, *Wujun zhi*, 25.374, 26.384, and 25.370 respectively.
- 37 Jianzi rice is mentioned in many other Chinese sources as the best variety grown during the Song dynasty; see, for example, Wang Hao and Zhang Yishao, *Qinding peiwenzhai guangqunfangpu*, 8.2a. It is described as an early-cropping variety; see Chang Tang, *Haiyan Ganshui zhi*, 6.1a.
- 38 The translation of *huanggan* as “mandarin oranges” (*Citrus reticulata*) is derived from Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, vol. 2: 90, line 202.
- 39 Huang Linggeng, *Chuci jijiao*, 9–260 [“Lisao”]. For a complete English-language translation, see Hawkes, *Ch’u Tz’u*, 22–34.
- 40 The *yundang* bamboo is first mentioned in the Han dynasty *Treatise on Strange Things* (*Yiwu zhi*), in which it is described as a large variety native to the Luling region in what is now Jiangxi; see Yang Fu, *Yiwu zhi*, 10b. In the Jin dynasty *Bamboo Album* (*Zhupu*), it is described as one of the very largest of the known varieties of bamboo; see Dai Kaizhi, *Zhupu*, 5b. For a full English-language translation of the *Bamboo Album*, see Hagerty, “Tai K’ai-chih’s *Chu-p’u*.” There appears to be no agreement on a Latin name for this variety. The index of plant names maintained by the University of Melbourne lists *jianzhu* and *guizhu* separately, but both names refer to the same variety: *Phyllostachys bambusoides*. See http://www.plantnames.unimelb.edu.au/Sorting/Bamboos_Chinese_index.html#J. This attribution seems unlikely to be correct, since *Phyllostachys bambusoides* is an extremely large variety of bamboo. The Yuan dynasty text, also titled *Bamboo Album*, confirms that the term *guizhu* was originally applied to a small variety of bamboo; see Li Kan, *Zhupu*, 4.26a–26b.
- 41 The *kuo* is identified as the same as *gui* (juniper) in the commentary by Wang Niansun (1744–1832) on the *Expanded Dictionary of Refined Words* (*Guangya*); see Wang Niansun, *Guangya shuzheng*, 10A.351 [“Shimu”]. The Latin name of this tree is *Juniperus chinensis*; see Lu Wenyu, *Shi caomu jishi*, 38. The term *zong* refers specifically to the windmill palm (*Chamaerops excelsa* or *Trachycarpus fortunei*); see Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, vol. 1: 206, line 411.
- 42 The earliest recorded use of the gardenia (*zhi*) is for making dyestuff; see Duan Yucai, *Shuowen jiezi zhu*, 436 [“Mubu”].

- 43 For a study of the place of the peony (particularly those of Luoyang) in the culture of Tang and Song dynasty China, see Egan, *The Problem of Beauty*, 109–144.
- 44 *Handan* refers specifically to the lotus variety *Nelumbo nucifera*; see Gao Mingqian et al., *Zhiwu gudai Hanming tukao*, 314.
- 45 The first bird mentioned on this list is the *chaocui*, or “nesting kingfisher.” According to the now lost text *Treatise on Strange Things from Jiaozhi* (Jiaozhi yiwu zhi), the kingfishers in this region would build one nest in a high place, and when the nestlings hatched, the parent birds would build a second, and then a third nest lower down, so that if the baby birds fell out, they would not hurt themselves. Quoted in Ouyang Xun, *Yiwen leiju*, 92.1609. These strange birds are also mentioned in Li Shan et al., *Wenxuan*, 68 [“Wudu fu”].
- 46 The strange rocks of Lake Tai, which are noted for their bizarre pierced appearance, are created by currents in the lake. These objects were much valued by Song dynasty literati, and the value of fine examples was considerable. For a detailed consideration of their cultural importance at the time, see Xiaoshan Yang, *Metamorphosis*, 98–148.
- 47 This story is derived from “Record of the Southern Twin Temples” (Nanshuang-miao ji) by Cai Jing (1047–1126), one of the ministers blamed for the collapse of the Northern Song dynasty. The full text is given with slightly different wording from that found here in Zheng Huchen, *Wudu wencui*, 3.21b–25a.
- 48 These lines are from the poem “Wu quxing”; see Guo Maoqian, *Yuefu shi ji*, 64.934.
- 49 For Daosheng’s biography, see Shi Huijiao, *Gaoseng zhuan*, 7.255–257. The monk Huixiang’s role in proselytizing the Wu region during the Liang dynasty, in particular through the construction of three major temples, is recorded in the “Record of the Reconstruction of the Buddhist Enlightenment Temple in Changshu County” (Changshuxian Huirisi xiuzao ji) by Zhang Ting; quoted in Qian Gu, “Wudu wencui” *xuji*, 34.7b–9b. See also Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk*, 25.
- 50 Li Shan et al., *Wenxuan*, 71 [“Wudu fu”]. This translation is derived from Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, vol. 1: 403.
- 51 Li Shan et al., *Wenxuan*, 69 [“Wudu fu”]. Translation from Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, vol. 1: 395.
- 52 This is the second couplet in the poem “Secretary Bai and Director Cao Sent Me New Poems to My Great Pleasure. Therefore I Wrote This Joking Response” (Bai sheren Cao changji xinshi you youyan zhi sheng. Yin yi chouxi). This poem is included in a number of important anthologies of literature about Suzhou; see, for example, Zheng Huchen, *Wudu wencui*, 10.37a–37b, as well as *Quan Tangshi*, 360.4060.
- 53 An individual named Xumen Chao is mentioned in Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 1661 [Ai 11], as the general in command of the Upper Army of Wu. Zhu Changwen clearly believed Xumen to be an epithet (Master Chao of Xu Gate), but it is now generally understood as a surname.
- 54 The Middle Chinese pronunciations of the characters *feng* (embankment) and *feng* (wild rice) are derived from Schuessler, *Minimal Old Chinese*, 169. These two characters are homophones in standard Chinese (Mandarin) and must have been almost identical in standard Middle Chinese. This reference suggests that perhaps there

was a Wu dialect pronunciation in the Song dynasty that distinguished between the two.

- 55 Zhu Yi is not well recorded in texts about the city of Suzhou, though the location of his tomb is mentioned in Wang Ao et al., *Gusu zhi*, 34.189. However, his name is given a number of times in gazetteers in the biography of his daughter, Zhu Changwen's aunt, who was recognized as a woman of exemplary virtue; see, for example, Lu Xiong, *Suzhou fu zhi*, 41.15b.
- 56 For a short biography of Fu Yan, see Fan Chengda, *Wujun zhi*, 26.386–387.
- 57 Hu Anding was an important Song dynasty Confucian scholar, noted particularly for his mastery of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and the *Book of Changes*. According to *Songshi*, 43.835 (in the Zhonghua Shuju edition, his name is printed incorrectly as Hu Anzhi), he was one of Zhu Xi's disciples. For a study of the career and scholarly achievements of Hu Anding (Hu Yuan), which were particularly remarkable given his lack of formal qualifications, see Hon, *The Yijing*, 50–71. Zhang Shengmin is now perhaps best known as the recipient of a number of poems by Mei Yaochen (1002–1060); see, for example, “Zhang Shengmin xishang ting Zhang Lin tanqin” and “Zhang Shengmin xishang fu hongmei,” in Mei Yaochen, *Wanling ji*, 45.6a and 46.2a respectively. Zhang Gongda is mentioned as a distinguished calligrapher in Zhu Changwen, *Mochi bian*, 3.105b.
- 58 For Teng Yuanfa's official biography, see Tuotuo, *Songshi*, 332.10673–10676.
- 59 For the official biography of Su Shunqin, an associate of Fan Zhongyan's, see *ibid.*, 442.13073–13081. A famous poet, Su Shunqin is perhaps now best known as the creator of the Blue Wave Pavilion garden in Suzhou.
- 60 The text that this quotation is derived from has not survived. The same quotation is given in a number of other Song dynasty texts; see, for example, Yue Shi, *Taiping huanyu ji*, 91.1822. *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Reign Era* (Taiping yulan) has a slightly different version of this quotation, which is attributed to the *Lost Histories of Yue*; see Li Fang, *Taiping yulan*, 988.4371. The name Yellow Hall (Huangtang) later came to be applied to the main hall of the prefect's residence in counties across China. According to Fan Chengda (*Wujun zhi*, 6.52), the term was derived from this one residence in Suzhou.
- 61 This is the second couplet from the poem “A Nighttime Gathering of Literati in a Rain-Soaked Commandery Seat” (Junzhai yuzhong yu zhu wenshi yanji); see Wei Yingwu, *Wei Suzhou ji*, 1.9.
- 62 The Western Gazebo is mentioned in a number of Bai Juyi's poems; see, for example, “Xilou duli,” “Chou Mengde cao qiuye dui yue jian ji,” and “Chengshang yeyan,” in Gu Xuejie, *Bai Juyi ji*, 783, 776, and 544 respectively.
- 63 Gathering Clouds Gazebo was built during the Tang dynasty by Cao Gongwang. This is the second couplet from Bai Juyi's poem “After Looking at the Nighttime View from Gathering Clouds Gazebo, I Was Inspired to Compose Ten Couplets on the Occasion of Seeing Off the Expectant Official Mr. Feng, and the Two Directors of Imperial Music, Mr. Zhou and Mr. Yin” (Qiyunlou wanwang outi shi yun jiancheng Feng Daiyu Zhou Yin er Xielü); see *ibid.*, 550.
- 64 A set of three poems titled “Rear Pond at Magnolia Hall” (Mulan houchi) survives,

- though the poems are generally attributed to Pi Rixiu individually. See Pi Rixiu and Lu Guimeng, *Songling ji*, 7.11a–11b.
- 65 The name Shanyin is one of the ancient designations of the Kuaiji region of northern Zhejiang, around modern-day Shaoxing. This name was personally selected for the region by the First Emperor of China; see Yuan Kang and Wu Ping, *Yuejue shu*, 65 [“Jidi zhuan”].
- 66 A number of poems addressed to the otherwise obscure figure of Pei Ruhui survive; see, for example, “Mian Pei Ruhui,” “He Pei Ruhui yuzhong guo qi wangxiong yiju,” and “Da Pei Ruhui,” in Mei Yaochen, *Wanling ji*, 18.4b, 24.8b–9a, and 26.2a respectively. See also “Song Pei Ruhui zhi Wujiang,” in Ouyang Xiu, *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 99.
- 67 Han Ziwen seems to have had a particular interest in nomenclature. He was also responsible for seeing that each of the 360 bridges within the city of Suzhou had a name plaque attached. This is again described in Gong Mingzhi, *Zhongwu jiwen*, 3.62.
- 68 According to the *Record of Ritual*, it was the Zhou king whose palace gates were called the “Tall Gate” and the “Main Gate”; see Sun Xidan, *Liji jijie*, 31.846 [“Mingtang wei”]. The *Lost History of Zhou* (Yi Zhoushu) suggests that the Main Gate was the east gate and the Tall Gate was the west gate to the Hall of Light (Mingtang), an important ceremonial space in the palace; see Huang Huaixin, Zhang Maorong, and Tian Xudong, *Yi Zhoushu huijiao jizhu*, 714–715 [“Mingtang”]. The Inner Gate is mentioned in the *Rites of Zhou* as the site of certain important rituals, but with no indication of its location. See Zheng Xuan and Jia Gongyan, *Zhouli zhushu*, 584 [“Xiao Zongbo”], 951 [“Sishi”], and 1351 [“Jiangren”].
- 69 The term *luqin* is mentioned in many ancient texts as the formal designation for the main private apartments of the Zhou kings and feudal lords; see, for example, *Shuoyuan*, 484 [“Xiuwen”]. *Zuo’s Tradition* also contains numerous references to aristocrats dying in their main apartments; see, for example, Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 254 [Zhuang 32], 913 [Cheng 18]. The Yanqin or Resting Apartments are mentioned in Chen Li, *Baihutong shuzheng*, 407 [“Xingming”]; and Zheng Xuan and Jia Gongyan, *Zhouli zhushu*, 121 [“Zhongzai”].
- 70 This is the concluding couplet of the *jueju* poem “Occasional Lines on the Southern Garden” (Nanyuan outi); see Wang Yucheng, *Xiaochu ji*, 7.11a. These lines are quoted in a number of other Song dynasty texts about the literary history and cultural legacy of the city of Suzhou; see, for example, Gong Mingzhi, *Zhongwu jiwen*, 3.66.
- 71 The Jingling Palace was the ancestral shrine at which members of the Song imperial house received sacrifices. As of 1082, portrait sculptures of deceased emperors and empresses were included in this shrine for the first time in Chinese history; see Stuart and Rawski, *Worshipping the Ancestors*, 39.
- 72 The names of the Black Robes (Ziyi) and Brilliant Flowers (Huanghua) Pavilions are derived from the titles of songs in the *Book of Songs*; see Kong Yingda, *Maoshi zhengyi*, 325 [“Ziyi”] and 658 [“Huanghuang zhe hua”]. The name of the Starry Envoy (Shixing) Pavilion commemorates an event in the Han dynasty, when an astrologer

foretold the arrival of two envoys from Emperor He (r. 89–105) based on changes in the constellations; see Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, 82A.2717–2718.

- 73 The name of the first of these pavilions, Cherishing Guests from Afar (Huaiyuan), is derived from a classical quotation recorded in many ancient texts, “It is virtuous to cherish guests from afar” (Huaiyuan yi de); see, for example, Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 317 [Xi 7]. Peaceful Journey (Anliu) is also a classical quotation, in this case from the *Songs of Chu*; see Huang Linggeng, *Chuci jijiao*, 433 [“Xiangjun”]. For a full translation of this poem, see Hawkes, *Ch’u Tz’u*, 37–38.
- 74 This line is a paraphrase of Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, 6.158. Unlike the two earlier gazetteers for Suzhou, *Supplementary Records to the “Illustrated Guide to Wu Commandery”* makes much of Yan Zhu and Zhu Maichen, two exceptionally significant figures in the Han dynasty conquest of the southeastern coastal region.
- 75 Zhu Maichen’s speech given here represents a slightly edited version of the one that appears in his biography in the *History of the Han Dynasty*. The remainder of this account repeats almost verbatim the words of his official biography; see Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, 64A.2792.
- 76 According to *Records of the Grand Historian*, which represents the oldest surviving account of this campaign, Han Wudi was deeply angered by the discovery that Yushan, the king of Eastern Yue, had proclaimed himself emperor. This account names Han Shuo, Towered Warships General Yang Pu, and Commandant-in-Ordinary Wang Wenshu as the commanders of the successful campaign against the king of the Eastern Yue. In the winter of 110 BCE, they crushed the kingdom of Eastern Yue. See Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 114.2982–2983. This account does not mention any involvement by Zhu Maichen.
- 77 Yu Tan’s role in the defense of the region during the Jin dynasty is recorded in his official biography; see Fang Xuanling, *Jinshu*, 76.2012–2014. Whereas *Record of the Lands of Wu* mentions only Yuan Shansong, this account makes it clear that both men were involved in the construction of fortresses along the Hu Canal at this time.
- 78 The account of the life and works of Ren Yan given here is quoted almost verbatim from his biography in Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, 76.2460–2461. The earlier part of this material is derived from his biography in *Records of the Han Dynasty from the Eastern Library* (Dongguan Hanji); see Wu Shuping, *Dongguan Hanji jiaozhu*, 801. But the present text of *Records of the Han Dynasty from the Eastern Library* does not contain the story of Longqiu Chang.
- 79 Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, 161.4985. Here, the account given in *Supplementary Records to the “Illustrated Guide to Wu Commandery”* bears out the contention made by Faure (*Emperor and Ancestor*, 53) that in the early imperial era, water-management projects like the construction of dikes tend to be mentioned in gazetteers only when there was official involvement.
- 80 Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, 172.5199.
- 81 Ibid., 184.5395. This quotation is also given in his biography in Fan Chengda, *Wujun zhi*, 11.137.
- 82 Gu Kuang’s biography is appended to that of Li Mi (722–789) in Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, 130.3625. His fame now derives largely from his research into the textual history of

- Record of an Ancient Mirror* (Gujing ji), one of the earliest surviving Tang dynasty *chuanqi*, which is discussed in Chen Jue, *Record of an Ancient Mirror*, 28–29. A number of poems Wei Yingwu wrote to his clients survive, such as “Written on an Autumn Night to Master Qiu” (Qiuye ji Qiu ershier yuan wai); see Wei Yingwu, *Wei Suzhou ji*, 3.25.
- 83 The poem from which these lines are derived seems to be lost.
- 84 The Li family of Jiangnan was the ruling house of the Southern Tang dynasty, which had its capital at the site of present-day Nanjing. Qian Yuanliao, holding a fief on the northern border of Wuyue territory, was responsible for ensuring that the Southern Tang did not threaten its security.
- 85 Qian Wenfeng is not accorded a biography in the official history of the Wuyue dynasty. His accession to his father’s titles is mentioned in Qian Yan, *Wuyue beishi*, 3.44.
- 86 The *Supplementary Records* was originally just one of two books written by Zhu Changwen about the city of Suzhou. Where the *Supplementary Records* would describe the history of the city’s development, the *Comprehensive Anthology of [Writings from] Wu* (Wumen zongji) would contain primary source material and key works of literature written about Suzhou. The *Supplementary Records* therefore contains numerous scattered references to the *Comprehensive Anthology*, which does not survive.
- 87 The source of the text of this edict is not known.
- 88 The account given here of Yan Zhu’s correspondence with Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty is a slightly abridged version of the story in his official biography; see Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, 64A.2789–2790.
- 89 Nanyue was an independent kingdom founded after the collapse of the Qin dynasty by a government official, Zhao Tuo (r. 203–138 BCE), with its capital at what is now the city of Guangzhou. Zhao Tuo’s grandson, King Wen of Nanyue (r. 137–122 BCE), was persuaded by the Han ambassador Yan Zhu (named in *Records of the Grand Historian* as Zhuang Zhu) to send his son Yingqi to the Han court to join the imperial bodyguard. This would have a considerable impact on later Nanyue history, for the kingdom collapsed in 111 BCE, due largely to the conflicts between the pro-Han supporters of Prince Zhao Xing (born to Zhao Yingqi and his Han wife) and the anti-Han supporters of Prince Zhao Jiande (born to Zhao Yingqi and a local woman); see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 113.2971–2976, and also Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, 95.3853.
- 90 These lines are derived from Lu Ji’s poem “A Journey to Wu”; see Guo Maoqian, *Yuefu shi ji*, 64.934.
- 91 For Ding Wei’s official biography, see Tuotuo, *Songshi*, 283.9566–9571. Although Ding Wei was a prolific author whose works, including the *Collected Writings of Ding Wei* (Ding Wei ji) in eight fascicles, *Collected Writings on Tiger Hill* (Huqiu ji) in fifty fascicles, and so on, are recorded in the catalog of the Song imperial library, none of these books survive, with the exception of *Record of Conversations with Ding [Wei]*, *Duke of Jin* (Ding Jingong tanlu); see Ding Wei, *Ding Jingong tanlu*. The Ding family was one of the many prominent gentry families of the time who traced

- their ancestry back to late Tang dynasty refugees from northern China; see Gong Mingzhi, *Zhongwu jiwen*, 1.21.
- 92 Shizong is given by mistake for Song Renzong (r. 1023–1063).
- 93 For Xie Jiang's official biography, see Tuotuo, *Songshi*, 295.9842–9847.
- 94 Chen Zhiqi's honest and upright behavior is also recorded in his biography; see Fan Chengda, *Wujun zhi*, 25.374–375.
- 95 Zheng Jian was a close associate of Fan Zhongyan's and had almost as distinguished a government career, eventually rising to the eminence of defender in chief (*taiwei*), one of the most important positions in the central administration. A short biography of Zheng Jian is given in the funerary inscription by Hu Su, "Epitaph for Defender in Chief Zheng, Posthumously Titled the Noble and Respected" (Taiwei Wensu Zhenggong muzhiming), which includes information about his ancestors' arrival in Wu County as late Tang dynasty refugees. See Hu Su, *Wengongji*, 36.4b–16a. Wang Gui (1019–1085, *jinshi* 1042) wrote an epitaph for both his wife, née Li, and his oldest son, Zheng Jun, an assistant editorial director in the Palace Library, that gives further biographical information. See Wang Gui, *Huayang ji*, 51.96–12a and 52.1a–3b.
- 96 For a short biographical account of Xu Dong, see Fan Chengda, *Wujun zhi*, 25.367–368.
- 97 This is the concluding line in the second couplet of Bai Juyi's poem "Zhengyue sanri xianxing"; see Gu Xuejie, *Bai Juyi ji*, 540.
- 98 In addition to being mentioned in Bai Juyi's poem "Zhengyue sanri xianxing" (mentioned above in the "Wards and Markets" section), this bridge is also mentioned in his poem "On Climbing Heavenly Gate and Looking Out into the Distance" (Deng Changmen xianwang) and in the second poem of "Two *Jueju* Poems Written on the Occasion of Seeing Off Mr. Li of Suzhou on His Departure from This Commandery to Take Office" (Song Suzhou Li Shijun fu jun er jueju); see *ibid.*, 533, 785.
- 99 For the full text of "Rhapsody in Mourning for Jiangnan" by Yu Xin (513–581), see Ni Fan, *Yu Zishan jizhu*, 94–176. This famous piece was written to commemorate the fall of the Liang dynasty in 557. For a study and complete translation of this extremely complex work, see Graham, *The Lament for the South*.
- 100 The poem from which this couplet is derived does not survive.
- 101 Many temples dedicated to the memory of the founder of the kingdom of Wu were called "Supreme Virtue." This is derived from a quotation in the *Analects*, in which Confucius praised Wu Taibo; see Yang Bojun, *Lunyu yizhu*, 78, "Taibo."
- 102 The poem from which this couplet was derived does not survive.
- 103 These are the closing lines of the poem "The Shrine at Mount Bao" (Baoshan ci); see Lu Guimeng, *Fuli ji*, 2.13a–13b.
- 104 Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, 65.2841.
- 105 As Gong Mingzhi (*Zhongwu jiwen*, 5.96) pointed out, together with numerous other later Suzhou gazetteers, Bi Jian was not prime minister in the Tang dynasty; that was his brother, Bi Xian.
- 106 Both these works of literature survive. Wang Yucheng's poem "Visiting the Great Harmony Temple One Night in Spring" (Chun wan you Taihegong) and the essay

- “A Record of the Restoration of the Great Harmony Temple” (Xinxiu Taihegong ji) are included in Zheng Huchen, *Wudu wencui*, 7.18b–20b.
- 107 Yoshikawa and Mugitani, *Zhengao jiaozhu*, 11.357.
- 108 These are the opening lines of the poem “Duke of Mao’s Platform” (Maogong tan); see Lu Guimeng, *Fuli ji*, 2.7b–8a.
- 109 The biography of Liu Gen is derived from that given by Ge Hong in *Shenxian zhuan*, 8.546–548, but the original text associates this individual with Chang’an and contains no reference to a journey to Wu.
- 110 Although a number of pieces of poetry addressed to Zheng Shijun survive, none of the writings produced on this occasion appear to be extant.
- 111 These lines come from the poem “Supreme Truth Temple” (Shangzhenguan) by Pi Rixiu; quoted in Pi Rixiu and Lu Guimeng, *Songling ji*, 3.7a–7b.
- 112 This story is derived from the “Stele Inscription for Summoning Purity Temple” (Zhaozhenguan bei) by Emperor Jianwen of the Liang dynasty; see Zhang Pu, *Han Wei Liuchao baisanjia ji*, 82B.238–239.
- 113 Crown Prince Zhaoming was the official title of Xiao Tong (501–531), the heir to Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty, who died before coming to the throne. The crown prince is best known now for his role in the compilation of the anthology *Selections of Refined Literature*.
- 114 This story is also recorded in Chu Zhilan’s official biography; see Tuotuo, *Songshi*, 461.13500–13501.
- 115 This poem is quoted under the title “Deng Chongxuansi ge” (On climbing to a gazebo in the Massed Mystery Temple) in *Quan Tangshi*, 192.1972.
- 116 The name Nagā-puspa Hall refers to the tree under which the Maitreya Buddha achieved enlightenment; see Zhou Shujia and Su Jinren, *Fayuan zhulin jiaozhu*, 24.973.
- 117 The *Jingde Record of the Transmission of the Lamp* is a compilation of 1,701 biographies of Buddhist monks and remains the most important source of information ever produced about the history of Chan Buddhism in China. See Shi Daoyuan, *Jingde chuandeng lu*. For an extended analysis of this text, see Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*. For an English-language translation of selections from this text, see Chung-yuan Chang, *Original Teachings of Ch’an Buddhism*.
- 118 The presentation of gifts from the emperor to Jizhao and his companions is also recorded in Tuotuo, *Songshi*, 491.14136. The importance of this exchange between Japanese and Chinese Buddhist masters is described in Zeng Qihai, “Tiantaizong zhili da Riben guoshi wen.”
- 119 See, for example, Wang Zhu’s poem “Zeng Riben seng shi”, quoted in Wang Qinchén, *Wangshi tanlu*, A.22b. See also the anonymous work “Zeng Riben seng Jizhao li Tiantai shan” in Li E, *Songshi jishi*, 96.2302.
- 120 “Chanyue” was one of the epithets given to the monk Guanxiu. He was an exceptionally talented painter, poet, and calligrapher who was much patronized by the ruling house of the Wuyue dynasty. His poetry is collected in Wu Qiao, *Chanyue ji*. His paintings and their influence are discussed in detail in Brinker, Kanazawa, and Leisinger, “Zen Masters of Meditation.”

- 121 According to an alternative tradition, this temple was founded in 241 by Sun Quan; see Xu Boming, *Wu wenhua gaiguan*, 23.
- 122 This particular temple is now much better known under its popular designation Shuangta, or Twin Pagodas; see Wang Ao et al., *Gusu zhi*, 29.655–666. The twin pagodas from which the temple takes its modern name were constructed in the Yongxi reign era of the Song dynasty (984–987).
- 123 The Zhidao reign era only lasted three years. In this instance, *jiu* (ninth) is probably a mistake; it should be *yuan* (first), that is, 995.
- 124 This is probably intended as an abridged quotation from *Record of the Lands of Wu*.
- 125 No poems by Pi Rixiu and Lu Guimeng titled “Beichan bishu lianju” (Linked verses on escaping the heat at the Northern Chan Buddhist Hall) survive, but many other works by them mention this site; see, for example, “You Beichansi,” quoted in Zheng Huchen, *Wudu wencui*, 7.42b–43a. The commentary quoted here is appended to this set of poems.
- 126 Gong Mingzhi records a couple of stories about this monk; see *Zhongwu jiwen*, 2.48 and 5.88. The tale that he was a reincarnation of the bodhisattva Zhiji seems to be unique to this text.
- 127 The Imperial Calligraphy Gazebo housed three hundred scrolls written by Emperor Zhenzong of the Song dynasty, as described below. This building was destroyed by a fire in the early Yuan dynasty. The site is now thought to be occupied by the Imperial Stele Pavilion (Yubei Ting), which houses inscriptions in the calligraphy of the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors. See Suzhoushi Huqiushan fengjingqu guanlichu, *Wuzhong diyi mingsheng*, 41.
- 128 For a short biography of Chen Shenghua, see Wang Ao et al., *Gusu zhi*, 39.405. Wang Yucheng’s official biography is preserved in Tuotuo, *Songshi*, 293.9793–9800. A couple of anecdotes concerning Ye Can are preserved in Gong Mingzhi, *Zhongwu jiwen*, 2.41. For Jiang Tang’s official biography, see Tuotuo, *Songshi*, 298.9912–9914.
- 129 Maple Bridge is indeed mentioned in Du Mu’s poetry; see, for example, his poem “Huai Wuzhong Feng Xiucan” (Remembering Feng Xiucan of Central Wu) quoted in *Quan Tangshi*, 524.6002. Zhang Ji’s poem is much more famous under its more common title “Fengqiao yebo” (Anchoring by night at Maple Bridge); see *ibid.*, 242.2721.
- 130 Sun Chengyou, the brother-in-law of the last king of the Wuyue dynasty, was an important patron of religious foundations during this era. For his biography, see Wu Renchen, *Shiguo chunqiu*, 87.1262–1263.
- 131 Shi Changyan’s official biography is in Tuotuo, *Songshi*, 299.9949–9950.
- 132 Bai Juyi’s visit to this place is commemorated in the poem “On the Requiring Kindness Temple” (Ti Baoensi); see Gu Xuejie, *Bai Juyi ji*, 548. Liu Yuxi’s poem of the same title is preserved in Bian Xiaoxuan, *Liu Yuxi ji*, 560.
- 133 This poem, for which Pi Rixiu and Lu Guimeng wrote alternate couplets, is included in their collection *Songling ji*, 10.14a–14b.
- 134 Pei Xiu, in addition to being a highly distinguished statesman and scholar during the Tang dynasty, was noted for his exceptionally fine clerical-script calligraphy and his great interest in Buddhism. For his official biography, see Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, 177.4593–4594; see also Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, 182.5371–5372.

- 135 Bai Juyi's poem is titled "White Cloud Spring" (Baiyun quan); see Gu Xuejie, *Bai Juyi ji*, 1517.
- 136 One of Fan Wenzheng's ancestors, Fan Fujun, who lived at the end of the Tang dynasty, was buried at this temple, as described in "Epitaph for Fan Fujun, the Retired Secretary to the Heir Apparent" (Taizi zhongshe zhishi Fan Fujun muzhiming); see Fan Wenzheng, *Fan Wenzhenggong wen ji*, 15.70a-73a.
- 137 Though a number of poems and other literary works by Xie Jiang survive, this record does not.
- 138 The worship of this bodhisattva in Song dynasty Suzhou is recorded in Gong Mingzhi, *Zhongwu jiwen*, 1.32. See also "Lingyan Zhiji shan pusa dian ji," in Sun Di, *Hongqing jushi ji*, 22.6a-8b.
- 139 These lines are derived from the poem "On Traveling through the Mountains" (Youshan) by Su Shunqin; see Shen Wenzhuo, *Su Shunqin ji*, 42-43.
- 140 Bai Juyi's poem is titled "Composed on the Occasion of Traveling from Siyi Temple to Lankavatara Temple" (Zi Siyisi ci Lengjiasi zuo); see Gu Xuejie, *Bai Juyi ji*, 549. The poems by Pi Rixiu and Lu Guimeng do not appear to have survived.
- 141 For a biography of Cao Gui, see Wu Renchen, *Shiguo chunqiu*, 84.1230.
- 142 Huixiang's association with this temple is also mentioned in "Record of the Traces of Sages Found at Gathered Illumination Temple" (Huijusi shengji ji), written by the monk Bianduan in 997. Quoted in Zheng Huchen, *Wudu wencui*, 9.1a-2b.
- 143 Zhang Sengyao, a native of the city of Suzhou, is now considered to be the most influential Buddhist painter of the age; see Cahill, *Chinese Painting*, 15-16. He is famous for painting two dragons but not including the pupils of their eyes in order to prevent them from flying away. When ordered to paint them in, he did so, and the dragons then flew off. The earliest-recorded version of this story seems to be in Fan Chengda, *Wujun zhi*, 43.591.
- 144 Chen Shenghua's visit is commemorated in his poem "On Climbing Up to the Gathered Illumination Buddhist Temple" (Deng Huijusi shangfang), which is also known under the title "On Climbing Jade Peak" (Deng Yufeng); see Li E, *Songshi jishi*, 3.83, and Qian Gu, "Wudu wencui" *xuji*, 22.10b-11a respectively.
- 145 The poems by Meng Jiao and Zhang Hu have the same title: "Traces of the Divine at Gathered Illumination Temple" (Huijusi shengji); see Zheng Huchen, *Wudu wencui*, 9.3a. For Wang Anshi's poetry, see Wang Anshi, *Linchuan wenji*, 13.3a-3b, 16.5a.
- 146 These lines come from the poem "Verse Written on the Buddhist Temple on the Back of Mount Po" (Ti Poshan hou chanyuan); see Chang Jian, *Chang Jian shi*, 3.1a.
- 147 Gong Mingzhi (*Zhongwu jiwen*, 3.64) mentions a completely different story behind the naming of this place. He records a local traditional story that four great Buddhist monks reciting the sutras on this mountain. An old man came to listen to this every day, and eventually one of the monks asked who he was. The old man announced that he was no ordinary human being but a dragon. The monk requested that he show his true form. When the old man revealed his dragon form, the monks were terrified and chanted mantras to get him to leave. The dragon, unable to defeat them, smashed a huge hole in the mountain before departing.
- 148 The transmitted texts of the *Lost Histories of Yue* and the *Spring and Autumn Annals*

- of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yue contain no story of this kind about the tomb of King Helü of Wu, but numerous quotations in other texts suggest that the latter did at one time include a story about the essence of metal objects buried with the penultimate king of Wu metamorphosing into a tiger; see Zhou Shengchun, *Wu Yue chunqiu jijiao huikao*, 263–264 [“Wu Yue chunqiu yiwen”].
- 149 Wang Xun’s text is now known only from a handful of quotations; see, for example, Ouyang Xun, *Yiwen leiju*, 8.141.
- 150 Chu Yuan was an aristocrat and statesman who served both the Former Song dynasty and the Southern Qi. For his official biography, see Xiao Zixian, *Nan Qishu*, 23.425–431. The source of this quotation is not known.
- 151 Yue Shi, *Taiping huanyu ji*, 91.1819.
- 152 *Treatise on the Ten Circuits*, a Tang dynasty gazetteer for the entire empire, now survives only in quotations.
- 153 Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 1608 [Ai 1].
- 154 Zhou Shengchun, *Wu Yue chunqiu jijiao huikao*, 66 [“Helü neizhuan”].
- 155 This story is derived from *ibid.*, 149 [“Goujian yinmou waizhuan”].
- 156 Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 29.1415.
- 157 Yue Shi, *Taiping huanyu ji*, 91.1820.
- 158 Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaozheng*, 29.686.
- 159 *Ibid.*, 29.685.
- 160 This couplet is derived from the poem “Ti Baoensi”; see Gu Xuejie, *Bai Juyi ji*, 548.
- 161 This line is not found in the transmitted version of the text.
- 162 Yang Xiong, *Fangyan*, 2.13.
- 163 Li Shan et al., *Wenxuan*, 75 [“Wudu fu”]. For an alternative translation of these lines, see Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, vol. 1: 421.
- 164 Zhou Shengchun, *Wu Yue chunqiu jijiao huikao*, 96 [“Fuchai neizhuan”]. This quotation omits the words *yili* (according to the rites), which describe the burial of the last king of Wu in the original text.
- 165 There is a Tang dynasty short story titled “Notes Kept Inside a Pillow,” but it bears no obvious relationship to what is described here.
- 166 For a discussion of the importance of the concept of the guardian mountain in *fengshui* and the number of different mountains said to fulfill this function for the city of Suzhou, see Yinong Xu, *The Chinese City*, 209–213.
- 167 For Bai Juyi’s poem, see Gu Xuejie, *Bai Juyi ji*, 1517. For Fan Zhongyan’s poem “Tianpingshan Baiyun quan,” (see Li Yongxian and Wang Ronggui, *Fan Zhongyan quanji*, 47.
- 168 Li Shan et al., *Wenxuan*, 76 [“Wudu fu”]. This translation is derived from Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, vol. 1: 425.
- 169 Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaozheng*, 29.685.
- 170 See, for example, “Zao fafu Dongting zhou zhong zuo” and “Su huzhong” in Gu Xuejie, *Bai Juyi ji*, 537.
- 171 This poetic description is derived from Su Shunqin’s essay “A Record of Water Moon Buddhist Hall on Dongting Island near Suzhou” (Suzhou Dongtingshan Shuiyue chanyuan ji); see Shen Wenzhuo, *Su Shunqin ji*, 259–260.

- 172 Zhu Changwen consistently misnames this text, calling it “Zhaozhen zhi bei,” which does not make sense, when it should be “Zhaozhenguan bei.” For the full text of this stele inscription, see Zhang Pu, *Han Wei Liuchao baisan jia ji*, 82B.238–239.
- 173 See Zheng Xuan and Jia Gongyan, *Zhouli zhushu*, 1022 [“Zhifangshi”]; Li Xueqin, *Erya zhushu*, 213 [“Shidi”]; and Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 29.1407. Shanghai shifan daxue guji zhenglizu, *Guoyu*, 643 [“Yueyu xia”], does indeed contain a reference to the Five Lakes, which the commentary by Wei Zhao glosses as Lake Tai.
- 174 Modern scholars argue that the city of Suzhou was carefully located by the kings of Wu with a view to controlling access to these three rivers; see Wu Naifu and Zou Shuqun, “Chunqiu Wuguo ducheng kao,” 95.
- 175 For the full text of this rhapsody, see Li Shan et al., *Wenxuan*, 167–174 [“Jiangfu”]. This quotation varies slightly from the standard wording in that it speaks of “binding the Five Lakes” (*bao Wuhu*) rather than the usual “flooding into the Five Lakes” (*zhu Wuhu*). For a translation of this rhapsody, see Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, vol. 2: 321–351.
- 176 Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaozheng*, 29.684.
- 177 This quotation is presumably derived from Wei Zhao’s commentary on *Discourses of the States*, but it is not found in the present transmitted text.
- 178 This quotation is derived from Yu Zhongxiang’s essay “A Record of Rivers and Canals” (*Chuandu ji*), and this is the only section of the text to survive.
- 179 The source of this quotation has been lost.
- 180 These two quotations are derived from the poem “On First Entering into Lake Tai” (*Chu ru Taihu*); see Lu Guimeng, *Fuli ji*, 2.5a–6a.
- 181 This one couplet is the only part of this poem to survive.
- 182 See Wei Zhao’s commentary in Shanghai shifan daxue guji zhenglizu, *Guoyu*, 633 [“Yueyu shang”].
- 183 Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaozheng*, 29.686.
- 184 Zhou Shengchun, *Wu Yue chunqiu jijiao huikao*, 172 [“Goujian fa Wu waizhuan”].
- 185 This quotation is almost certainly derived from *Commentary on the “Classic of Waterways”* (*Shuijing zhu*); see Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaozheng*, 29.686.
- 186 This is thought to be one of the very earliest references in literature to the role played by canals in the prevention of flooding; see Qingzhou Wu, “The Protection of China’s Ancient Cities,” 197.
- 187 Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 1652 [Ai 9].
- 188 Shanghai shifan daxue guji zhenglizu, *Guoyu*, 604 [“Wuyu”].
- 189 These lines are derived from the poem “Fifty Rhymed Couplets on Wanting to Travel Eastward” (*Xiang dongyou wushi yun*); see Gu Xuejie, *Bai Juyi ji*, 607.
- 190 These lines come from the poem “On Seeing Someone Off on a Trip to Wu” (*Song ren you Wu*); see *Quan Tangshi*, 691.7925.
- 191 This line is taken from the poem “At an Evening Banquet on the Ninth of the Month, I Got Drunk and Composed This Poem since I Was Seeing Off the Two Administrative Assistants Mr. Zhou and Mr. Yin” (*Jiuri yanji zuiti junlou jiancheng Zhou Yin er panguan*); see Gu Xuejie, *Bai Juyi ji*, 456. The poem, with its vivid description of the densely packed city, is translated in Yinong Xu, *The Chinese City*, 23–24.

- 192 This quotation is not found in the present text of *Commentary on the "Classic of Waterways."* According to at least one other Song dynasty text, however, it was once part of this book; see Zhao Yanwei, *Yunlu manchao*, 1.6.
- 193 These lines are taken from the poem "Presented to My Cousin Cheqi" (Ci congxiang Cheqi); see Lu Shiyong, *Gushi jing*, 9.5b–6a.
- 194 This story is given in He Yuan, *Chunzhu jiwen*, 7.104–105.
- 195 This reference to the Mao River is not in the transmitted text.
- 196 For a description of the efforts made to control the 536 floods, see Yao Silian, *Liangshu*, 8.168.
- 197 Chen Qiaoyi, *Shuijing zhu jiaozheng*, 29.686.
- 198 For Zhang Lun's official biography in the history of the Song dynasty, see Tuotuo, *Songshi*, 426.12694–12695.
- 199 For the official biography of Ye Qingchen, styled Daoqing, see *ibid.*, 295.9849–9855.
- 200 For Cai Kang's official biography, see *ibid.*, 420.12577–12578.
- 201 For a brief biography of Han Zhengyan, see Fan Chengda, *Wujun zhi*, 12.163.
- 202 For a brief biography of Jia Dan, see *ibid.*, 26.389. Although Zhu Changwen's account focuses on government-sponsored attempts to improve the network of canals and polders in the Wu region, the majority of this work had traditionally been organized and funded by local landlords. It was only the dredging and maintenance of the biggest canals that required government intervention. The expense and difficulty of draining these lands resulted in the creation of large landed estates that could afford to undertake such tasks, to the detriment of small landowners. Marmé, *Suzhou*, 50.
- 203 Jia Dan's ideas for how to improve drainage in the Suzhou region would continue to be discussed for many centuries to come, and Zhu Changwen's summary of his suggestions was often quoted as an important source; see Cho-ying Li, "Contending Strategies, Collaboration," 236–237.
- 204 This quotation is derived from the text of a memorial presented to Liu Bi, King of Wu, by Mei Cheng and is given in his official biography; see Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, 51.2363.
- 205 Li Shan et al., *Wenxuan*, 69 ["Wudu fu"]. This translation is derived from Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, vol. 1: 395.
- 206 For the full text of Yu Xin's rhapsody, see Ni Fan, *Yu Zishan jizhu*, 94–176.
- 207 Liang here, instead of Wuyue, is a mistake.
- 208 As many scholars have noted, there are significant problems with early transliterations of terms from the language used in the kingdoms of Wu and Yue into Chinese characters, with different characters being used for the same term. For an extensive discussion of this, see Wei Juxian, "Wu Yue shiming."
- 209 This poem is given in Qian Gu, "*Wudu wencui*" *xuji*, 11.49b–50b.
- 210 This line is taken from the poem "On Serving with Palace Secretary Wu under Minister Pei of Hannan" (He Wu Zhongshu shiji Hanan Pei Shangshu); quoted in Lu Guimeng, *Fuli ji*, 9.8a.
- 211 Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 1605 [Ai 1].
- 212 This line is taken from the poem "On Serving with Palace Secretary Wu under Minister Pei of Hannan," quoted in Lu Guimeng, *Fuli ji*, 9.8a.

- 213 Shanghai shifan daxue guji zhenglizu, *Guoyu*, 659 [“Yueyu xia”], is the first text to record that Fan Li sailed around Lake Tai after he left the service of King Goujian of Wu. This story was later significantly developed in Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 41.1752–1755 and 129.3257, whereby Fan Li is supposed to have left the country and changed his name, moved to Qi, where he was known as Chiyi Zipi, and eventually attained great wealth and lived to a considerable age in Tao. There are some substantial problems with the detailed later biography of Fan Li given in this source, not least that Chiyi Zipi, a genuine historical individual mentioned in a number of ancient texts, was living in Qi at a time when Fan Li was demonstrably still resident in Yue. There is, however, another tradition that Fan Li drowned; see Yuan Kang and Wu Ping, *Yuejue shu*, 109 [“Pianxu”].
- 214 There is an alternative tradition that when King Fuchai of Wu had Wu Xizü’s body placed in a sack and thrown into the river, this was where it came to land; see Wuxian diming weiyuanhui, *Jiangsusheng Wuxian diminglu*, 183.
- 215 The worship of Wu Xizü in the Suzhou region is clearly extremely ancient, being first recorded in the Han dynasty; see *Shiji*, 66.2180. For an account of the worship of Wu Xizü during the Age of Disunion, with particular focus on his association with the Duanwu festival, see Chittick, *Patronage and Community*, 112–113.
- 216 There is a reference in *Tales of the Lands of Wu* to defenses built by King Helü of Wu against the Yue, but this line is now so corrupt as to be incomprehensible.
- 217 The source of this story is not known.
- 218 Yue Shi, *Taiping huanyu ji*, 91.1824–1825. This quotation is said to have originally come from a text titled *A Record of the City of Wu* (Wucheng ji).
- 219 Yuan Weizhi is better known in English as Yuan Zhen, the closest friend of the great Tang dynasty poet Bai Juyi, and a well-respected poet and author in his own right. This poem is now usually known as “A Comic Answer to Bai Leitian” (Xizeng Letian fuyan); see *Quan Tangshi*, 417.4599. As noted by Naquin (*Peking*, 9), in cities surrounded by massive walls and with few buildings higher than two stories, residents prized places that offered a vista.
- 220 This quotation is derived from the prose introduction to Bai Juyi’s “Three Poems on the Cassia Tree in the East City” (Dongcheng gui sanshou); see Gu Xuejie, *Bai Juyi ji*, 535.
- 221 Li Xiyu, an early Tang dynasty statesman who held a number of important posts in the Yangzi delta region, is accorded a biography, appended to that of his older brother, Li Xizhi, in Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, 59.2331–2332.
- 222 This line comes from the poem “Suzhou”; quoted in *Yuding peiwenzhai yongwushi xuan*, 80.6b–7a.
- 223 This line is a quotation from the prose introduction to “Fishing Tools” (Yuju), a series of fifteen poems about different aspects of fishing; see Lu Guimeng, *Fuli ji*, 5.2b.
- 224 For the full text of Yu Xin’s rhapsody, see Ni Fan, *Yu Zishan ji*, 94–176.
- 225 This story is derived from Li Yanshou, *Beishi*, 41.1510.
- 226 This is a quotation from Shanghai shifan daxue guji zhenglizu, *Guoyu*, 604 [“Wuyu”].

- 227 This story is closely related to the account of the death of Wu Zixu in *Records of the Grand Historian*; see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 31.1472, 66.2180.
- 228 The name of this individual is usually given as Feng Huan, rather than Feng Nuan.
- 229 Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, 196.5613.
- 230 Fang Xuanling, *Jinshu*, 94.2458–2459.
- 231 For the importance of this site as the first literati garden to be constructed in the Jiangnan region, see Cao Lindi, *Gusu yuanlin yu Zhongguo wenhua*, 6.
- 232 This is taken almost verbatim from Zhu Zhuyu, *Shishuo xinyu huijiao jizhu*, 648 [“Jian’ao”]. For an alternative translation of this passage, see Mather, *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü*, 430–431. Wang Xianzhi, son of perhaps the most famous of all Chinese calligraphers, Wang Xizhi, was a distinguished calligrapher in his own right, as well as the son-in-law of Emperor Wen of the Jin dynasty.
- 233 For the biography of Gu Kuang, see Xin Wenfang, *Tang caizi zhuan*, 8.216–217.
- 234 This anonymous poem, now known under the title “Poem Bestowed upon Gu Kuang” (Zeng Gu Kuang shi), is known only from this text but is now included in a number of anthologies of Tang dynasty verse, including Chen Shangjun, *Quan Tangshi xushi*, 22.976.
- 235 Ouyang Xun, *Yiwen leiju*, 36.650.
- 236 This account of Dai Yong’s behavior closely derived from Li Yanshou, *Nanshi*, 75.1866.
- 237 This account of Lu Guimeng’s poverty is derived from the short autobiographical essay “The Story of the Master of Fu Village” (Fuli xiansheng zhuan). See Lu Guimeng, *Fuli ji*, 16.8a–10b.
- 238 According to the essay “Record of the Wang Family’s Garden of the Humble Administrator” (Wangshi Zhuozhengyuan ji) by Wen Zhengming (1470–1559), this famous Suzhou garden was built on the site of Lu Guimeng’s house; see Wen Zhengming, *Wen Zhengming ji*, 1275–1278.
- 239 These are the opening lines of Lu Guimeng’s “A Poem Addressed to Ren [Hui]” (Ren shi); see *Quan Tangshi*, 617.114.
- 240 Fan Wenzheng’s naming of these trees and buildings is described in his essay “Three Remarks on Integrity Hall” (Suihantang santi); see Fan Wenzheng, *Fan Wenzheng-gong wen ji*, 2.39b–40b.
- 241 Fan Wenzheng did not describe the regulations governing his Community House in his own works. This detailed account is derived from the essay “A Record of the Community Fields of Fan Wenzheng” (Fan Wenzhenggong yitian ji) by Qian Gongfu (1023–1074). The whole text of this essay is quoted in Zheng Huchen, *Wudu wencui*, 4.16b–18b. The Fan Community House was the first charitable endeavor of this kind in Chinese history, though many other clans throughout the country would follow Fan Wenzheng’s example and establish similar foundations. For a study in English of the rules governing the charity and for the subsequent history of the Community House, see Twitchett, “Documents on Clan Administration.” See also Chen Rongzhao, *Fan Zhongyan yanjiu*, 186–212. For a discussion of the later influence of Fan Zhongyan’s ideas on other clan charities, see Handlin Smith, *The Art of Doing Good*, 58–59, 115–116.

- 242 The history of this garden is described in detail in Zhou Suning, *Canglang ting*.
- 243 This account of Su Zimei's purchase of a garden in Suzhou is derived from his "Record of the Blue Wave Pavilion" (Canglang ting ji); see Shen Wenzhuo, *Su Shunqin ji*, 157–158.
- 244 See, for example, Ouyang Xiu, *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 48–49 ["Canglang ting"]. Another friend, Mei Yaochen, contributed verse on this garden; see Zhu Dongrun, *Mei Yaochen ji biannian jiaozhu*, 387.
- 245 Su Shunqin's description of the pleasures of living in Suzhou is derived from "Letter in Reply to Han Chiguo" (Da Han Chiguo shu), quoted in Shen Wenzhuo, *Su Shunqin ji*, 109–111.
- 246 This couplet is all that survives of this poem.
- 247 Zhu Changwen's account of this garden, "Record of the Abode of Pleasure" (Lepu ji), is quoted in Shao Zhong and Li Jin, *Suzhou lidai mingyuan ji*, 27–29.
- 248 Kong Yingda, *Shangshu zhengyi*, 262 ["Xian you yi de"].
- 249 Huang Linggeng, *Chuci jijiao*, 205–206 ["Lisao"]. This translation is based on the translation in Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u*, 31.
- 250 From the terms in which Zhu Changwen discusses this site, it is clear that he wanted to see Wu Xian not as a shaman but as a wise minister. Even though shamanism was generally despised by the educated elite at this time, shamans were certainly still part of the social landscape in the Jiangsu-Zhejiang region well into the Southern Song dynasty, as can be seen, for example, in the story of the Qiantang woman shaman Siniang recorded in Hong Mai, *Yi Jian zhi*, 97.
- 251 Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 834–835 [Cheng 7].
- 252 The text source of this quotation does not survive.
- 253 This quotation is derived from the commentary by Liu Zhao (502–557) on the *History of the Later Han Dynasty* geographic treatise; see Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, Junguo 4.3490–3491, n. 11.
- 254 This quotation differs very slightly from the transmitted text found in Yue Shi, *Tai-ping huanyu ji*, 91.1828.
- 255 Yang Bojun, *Lunyu yizhu*, 197, "Weizi."
- 256 For the text of this stele inscription, see Zhang Pu, *Han Wei Liuchao baisan jia ji*, 82B.238–239.
- 257 Zhou Shengchun, *Wu Yue chunqiu jijiao huikao*, 53, "Helü neizhuan."
- 258 The earliest surviving account of the romance between the princess of Wu and Han Chong is in Gan Bao, *Soushen ji*, 16.224–225. The present transmitted text lacks the princess's song, which is otherwise first recorded in *Record of the Lands of Wu*. According to *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Reign Era*, this song was originally derived from the account in *Records in Search of the Supernatural* (Soushen ji). See Li Fang, *Taiping yulan*, 573.2578.
- 259 Yang Bojun, *Mengzi yizhu*, 168, "Li Lou shang."
- 260 This quotation is from Lu Guimeng's essay "Text and Preface on a Sacrifice at the Tomb of Liang Hong" (Ji Liang Hong muwen bing xu); see *Quan Tangwen*, 801.8421.
- 261 The original source of this quotation does not survive.
- 262 Shen Yue, *Songshu*, 4.66 and 43.1332, contain references making it clear that Jin-

- chang Neighborhood was indeed located inside the Heavenly Gate of the city of Suzhou.
- 263 For the biography of Lady Wu, the mother of Sun Ce and Sun Quan, see Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, 50.1195–1196.
- 264 Zhang Quan's text, "A Memorial Written on Behalf of Magistrate Xie Xun of Wu, Concerning the Establishment of Communities of Tomb Guards for Members of the Sun Family" (Dai Wuling Xie Xun qiu wei zhu Sun zhi shou zhong ren biao) survives but is not included in *Selections of Refined Literature*. For the full text, see Qian Gu, "Wudu wencui" *xuji*, 37.29a–30b. *Autumn in Jinyang*, a text in thirty-two fascicles, was compiled by the Jin dynasty literatus Sun Sheng (c. 302–374). Although it does not survive, numerous quotations from it are known in a wide variety of Age of Disunion texts.
- 265 According to Li Fang, *Taiping guangji*, 389.3103, Wu Gang broke open the tomb of one Wu Bing in order to steal the timbers with which to build the temple to Sun Jian, only to discover that the body was completely incorrupt.
- 266 For the official biography of Gu Yong, see Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, 52.1225–1229.
- 267 This text does not survive.
- 268 The reputations of Shi Weize and Han Zemu as masters of the *bafen* style of calligraphy would survive into the Song dynasty; see Zhu Changwen, *Mochi bian*, 2.107a. The designation of Han Zemu, Cai Youlin, and Li Chao as great masters is commemorated in the poem by Du Fu (712–770) "A Song in Praise of Li Chao's *Bafen* and Small Seal Calligraphy" (Li Chao bafen xiaozhuan ge); see *Quan Tangshi*, 222.2360–2361.
- 269 This story is derived from Qian Yan, *Wuyue beishi*, 3.43–44.
- 270 There is no such reign era as Pingshi; hence a conversion to the Western calendar is impossible.
- 271 The execution of Zhu Yu and his family is described in Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, 77.2499.
- 272 Li Yangbing, a cousin of the poet Li Bai, is best-remembered today as a fine seal-script calligrapher; see Zhou Zumo, "Li Yangbing zhuan shu kao." He also played an important role in the compilation of the first edition of the collected works of Li Bai and is mentioned numerous times in the poet's works.
- 273 The reference to making rubbings of stele with a view to obtaining historical information marks this as a Song dynasty text. Until Ouyang Xiu basically invented the idea of collecting rubbings of ancient inscriptions, stone stele were valued only if they preserved the calligraphy of a famous and admired master. Ouyang Xiu pioneered the study of epigraphy in China and enjoyed the melancholy induced by the sight of damaged inscriptions; see Egan, *The Problem of Beauty*, 7–59.
- 274 Li Shen was an enormously distinguished Tang dynasty statesman and scholar. The text of his "Record of the Painted Dragons of Suzhou" (Suzhou hualong ji) is preserved in Yao Xuan, *Tang wen cui*, 77.192–193.
- 275 For Linghu Chu's biography, see Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, 172.4459–4465; and Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, 166.5098–5101. Linghu Chu's "A Record of Master Zhou's Mountain Abode" (Zhou xiansheng zhushan ji) is preserved in Zheng Huchen, *Wudu wencui*, 10.6b–9a.

- 276 This is a slightly abbreviated quotation from the opening pericope of the “Taibo” chapter in the *Analects of Confucius*. See Yang Bojun, *Lunyu yizhu*, 78, “Taibo.”
- 277 Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 1153 [Xiang 29].
- 278 This transcription is identical, except for one missing character, to the earliest-known record of this stele inscription, given by Ouyang Xiu in the *Account of Collected Antiquities* (Jigu lu); see Ouyang Xiu, *Ouyang Xiu quanji*, 2256–2257, n. 8 [“Tang chongmo Wu Jizi muming”]. The *Account of Collected Antiquities* reads “Alas! This is the tomb of Master Ji of Yanling of Wu,” whereas the transcription given above omits the character *you*. Not all editions of the *Account of Collected Antiquities* include this section.
- 279 Zhou Shengchun, *Wu Yue chunqiu jijiao huikao*, 15 [“Wu Taibo zhuan”].
- 280 Kong Yingda, *Maoshi zhengyi*, 1203 [“Huangyi”].
- 281 This particular apocryphal story about Confucius is often attributed to *Doctrines Weighed*, but it is not found in the present transmitted version of the text.
- 282 This story of the final meeting of King Goujian of Yue and his minister Fan Li is derived from Shanghai shifan daxue guji zhenglizu, *Guoyu*, 659 [“Yueyu xia”].
- 283 Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 41.1752–1755.
- 284 Shanghai shifan daxue guji zhenglizu, *Guoyu*, 635 [“Yueyu shang”].
- 285 *Ibid.*, 618 [“Wuyu”].
- 286 These lines are derived from “A Poem for Du Qiuniang” (Du Qiuniang shi); see, for example, *Quan Tangshi*, 520.5938–5939. In some versions of this poem (including that given in *Complete Poetry of the Tang Dynasty*), the wording is slightly different: “Lady Xi descended from Gusu [Tower], / Pursuing Chiyi by boat.”
- 287 Zhang Lihua was the favorite concubine of the last emperor of the Chen dynasty, Chen Houzhu (r. 583–589). When the Chen dynasty fell, she was beheaded by Gao Jiong, the Sui dynasty general, apparently in spite of a specific order from the future Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty that her life be spared. When Gao Jiong was in turn executed, it traditionally was explained as belated punishment for disobeying orders. At the time, Gao Jiong justified her death by comparing her pernicious influence to that of Dan Ji; see Li Yanshou, *Beishi*, 72.2489, and also Wei Zheng, *Suishu*, 41.1181. For a more historically balanced account of the life and death of Gao Jiong, focusing on his importance as a key supporter of Crown Prince Yang Yong (d. 604), the main rival of the future second emperor of the Sui dynasty, see Xiong, *Emperor Yang*, 23–45.
- 288 This quotation is derived from the *Explanations of Names* (Shiming), a second-century CE dictionary. Although it is not in the present transmitted text, it is cited in a number of Song dynasty sources as having been derived from this book; see, for example, Yue Shi, *Taiping huanyu ji*, 91.1815.
- 289 Zhang Liang is one of the key figures in the founding of the Han dynasty, and his official biography is in Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 55.2033–2050. There seem to be no surviving records concerning Zhang Mu.
- 290 This account of the letters exchanged between Wang Sengda and Qiu Zhensun is slightly abridged from that given in the official biography of Chu Boyu in the *History of the Southern Dynasties* (Nanshi); see Li Yanshou, *Nanshi*, 75.1873–1874.

- 291 These lines come from the poem “Verse Presented to the Official Wei of Suzhou” (Fengchou Wei Suzhou shijun); see *Quan Tangshi*, 307.3480.
- 292 This story is derived from Yan Han’s official biography; see Fang Xuanling, *Jinshu*, 88.2285–2287.
- 293 This account is derived from the official biography of He Dian and his younger brother; see Yao Silian, *Liangshu*, 51.732–734.
- 294 The story of Lu Huixiao’s and Zhang Rong’s close friendship, and He Dian’s admiring comment, is also given in Li Fang, *Taiping yulan*, 957.4141.
- 295 For Lu Huixiao’s official biography, including the story of Liu Jin’s visit, see Li Yanshou, *Nanshi*, 48.1190–1192.
- 296 Yang Xuanbao is now most famous for the incident in which he played *weiqi* with Emperor Wu of the Former Song dynasty (r. 420–422), with the governorship of a city as the prize, and won. This was recorded in his official biography in Shen Yue, *Songshu*, 54.1534–1536, and also forms the subject of many poems; see, for example, Lu Guimeng, “Song qike,” in *Quan Tangshi*, 629.7217.
- 297 For a short biography of Cai Xingzong, see Shi Su, *Jiatai Kuaiji zhi*, 2.19a–20b.
- 298 The story of Zhou Qia’s funeral and Fu Hui’s discussion with Sun Lian is quoted almost verbatim from the official biography of Fu Hui in Li Yanshou, *Nanshi*, 70.1706.
- 299 For the visit of the Daoist master Qingyuan to Tiger Hill, see Gong Mingzhi, *Zhongwu jiwen*, 3.56–57. Master Qingyuan’s poem on this occasion, “On Visiting Tiger Hill with Shen Gongzi” (Tong Shen Gongzi you Huqiu), is preserved in Zheng Huchen, *Wudu wencui*, 4.43b.
- 300 Yan Zhenqing, scion of an immensely distinguished literati family, was noted during his lifetime for the strict uprightness of his character and his bravery in the face of considerable danger during the course of his official career. In the Song dynasty, his calligraphy was promoted as a model, a process in which Zhu Changwen played a significant part. For a study of this, see McNair, *The Upright Brush*, 135–137. Yan Zhenqing’s poem is “Having Carved Master Qingyuan’s Poem, I Was Inspired to Write a Second Piece” (Ke Qingyuan daoshi shi yin er jizuo); see Zheng Huchen, *Wudu wencui*, 4.43b–44a.
- 301 Li Deyu’s poem, “Following On from Yan Zhiqing’s Poem” (Zhuihe Yan Zhenqing), is also preserved in Zheng Huchen, *Wudu wencui*, 4.44a–44b.
- 302 The text of Li Daochang’s oration at this ceremony is preserved in *Quan Tangwen*, 458.4678.
- 303 Zhu Changwen, *Mochi bian*, 3.85b–87b.
- 304 Fang Rufu was the son of Prime Minister Fang Guan (696–763); see Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, 111.3325. In his own time, he was notorious for his ill treatment of his first wife, which resulted in her death. He was protected by his father from the consequences of his behavior, only to cause new scandal when he remarried, and his second wife proved to be infamously sadistic. Her cruelty, and Fang Rufu’s failure to deal with it, destroyed both his marriage and his career.
- 305 These lines come from the poem “Drinking Alone at the Prefect’s Mansion” (Junzhai duzhuo); see *Quan Tangshi*, 520.5939–5940.

- 306 This story is also given in Yin Zhu, *Henan ji*, 12.2a.
- 307 These lines are from the beginning of the poem “An Occasional Poem Sent to an Old Friend and Official Serving in Suzhou, at the End of the Year” (Suimu oushu ji Sutai jiu liaoyou); see Wang Yucheng, *Xiaochu ji*, 7.20b. Wang Yucheng wrote a number of poems about Tiger Hill, a place for which he seems to have had great affection, and he claimed descent from the Wang brothers who had once owned the site and gave it to the Buddhist Church; see Qian Zhonglian, *Suzhou mingsheng shici xuan*, 74.
- 308 For Sun He’s biography, see Tuotuo, *Songshi*, 306.10097–10100. The text of “Record of Three Pavilions” apparently does not survive.
- 309 These individuals are now best remembered as the recipients of poetry from some of the most distinguished poets of the Song dynasty. Hu Wuping was the focus of poems such as “To Hu Wuping, Having Left Behind a Peony in a Pot” (Hu Wuping yi mudan yi pan) and “Seeing Off Hu Wuping” (Song Hu Wuping) by Mei Yaochen; see Mei Yaochen, *Wanling ji*, 8.8a, 9.6b. Zhao Shuping received the poem “Sent to Commemorate Zhao Shuping’s Fine Tree Pavilion” (Jiti Zhao Shuping Jiashuting) from Su Shunqin; see Shen Wenzhuo, *Su Shunqin ji*, 93.
- 310 For Sheng Du’s official biography, see Tuotuo, *Songshi*, 292.9759–9760.
- 311 Prefect Zhang Hu was the official in charge of Suzhou who finally encouraged Zhu Changwen to finish *Supplementary Records to the “Illustrated Guide to Wu Commandery.”*
- 312 Thanks to his position within the government bureaucracy, Wei Jiang is mentioned a couple of times in the *History of the Song Dynasty* (Songshi), but he is not given a separate biography. For Cheng Shimeng’s official biography, see Tuotuo, *Songshi*, 331.10660–10662.
- 313 Li Shan et al., *Wenxuan*, 69 [“Wudu fu”]. This translation comes from Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, vol. 1: 395.
- 314 Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, 41.1058.
- 315 This story of the white carp is also recorded in Ye Mengde, *Bishu luhua*, B.343, attributed to a book titled *Miscellaneous Records of the Daye Reign Era*, 605–616 (Daye zaji).
- 316 For an account of the importance of dried and salted fish in ancient and medieval Chinese cuisine, see Hsing-tsung Huang, *Science and Civilization*, 380–392.
- 317 This story and many others about the transcendent Jie Xiang from Kuaiji are recounted in his biography in Ge Hong, *Shenxian zhuan*, 9.551–553.
- 318 This story is also given verbatim in Li Fang, *Taiping guangji*, 234.1790.
- 319 Li Shan et al., *Wenxuan*, 65 [“Wudu fu”]. This translation is derived from Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, vol. 1: 381.
- 320 According to Fan Chengda (*Wujun zhi*, 30.442), Du Ji worked for the last emperor of the Sui dynasty.
- 321 Yang Xuangan was the oldest son of Yang Su, the Sui dynasty statesman responsible for moving Suzhou a new site at the foot of Mount Heng. Yang Xuangan rebelled against the Sui dynasty during Emperor Yang’s second campaign against Gokuryō in 613, only to have his revolt crushed when Sui forces returned from the Korean peninsula. Yang Xuangan then committed suicide. He is accorded an official biog-

- raphy in the *History of the Sui Dynasty*; see Wei Zheng, *Suishu*, 70.1615–1619. For an analysis of the role of the Yang Xuangan rebellion in the ultimate collapse of the Sui dynasty, see Xiong, *Emperor Yang*, 58–61.
- 322 The story of Wang Shichong's brutality toward soldiers who had surrendered was first described in Wei Zheng, *Suishu*, 70.1623–1624. This tale is also given in a number of other Song dynasty texts; see, for example, Yuan Shu, *Tongjian jishi benmo*, 26B.17a–17b. These accounts omit the final part of the story, in which his wife commits suicide. For Wang Shichong's official biography, see Li Yanshou, *Beishi*, 79.2660–2664. According to Fan Chengda, *Wujun zhi*, 45.603, the carnage was presaged by the fall of a comet in Wu Commandery on Guisi day of the fifth month of the twelfth year of the Daye reign era (May 28, 616).
- 323 Lu Menzi was one of the epithets used by Pi Rixiu; see Ma Duanlin, *Wenxian tongkao*, 216.1761.
- 324 The term “barbarians” (*pifa*, which literally means persons who do not tie up their hair) here refers to Huang Chao and his forces, who captured the city of Luoyang in 880, a year after ravaging the Wu region. These events played a crucial role in the downfall of the Tang dynasty. For a study of these events, see Hu Rulei, *Huang Chao qiyi shi*; and Levy, *The Biography of Huang Ch'ao*.
- 325 Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 197 [Zhuang 14].
- 326 This quotation is not found in the present text of the *Classic of Tea*. When this line is quoted in the *Record of Universal Geography of the Taiping Reign Era*, it is attributed to a text titled *Discussions on Tea* (Chashuo); see Yue Shi, *Taiping huanyu ji*, 91.1827.
- 327 This variety of tea is mentioned as a speciality of the region in Lu Yancan, *Xu Chajing*, B4.232.
- 328 This is taken almost verbatim from Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, 196.5613. Zhang Youxin was a famous Tang dynasty scholar and official noted for his love of the good things in life. His one-fascicle monograph on the subject, *Report on the Waters Used for Making Tea* (Jiancha shui ji), attests to his interest in the quality of water used for tea and its effect on the tea's flavor. This is supposed to be a quotation, but it does not survive in the present transmitted text. See Zhang Youxin, *Jiancha shui ji*.
- 329 This later explanation was the one favored by the Song dynasty scholar-official Zeng Zao (d. 1155 or 1164); see Wang Rutao, *Leishuo jiaozhu*, 26.797.
- 330 This story is also given in Li Fang, *Taiping guangji*, 227.1745, the only difference being that it was a traveling monk, rather than a local carpenter, who propped up the belvedere with wedges.
- 331 This poem is also given in Yue Shi, *Taiping huanyu ji*, 91.1826. The title of this poem is apparently unknown.
- 332 Junmo was the style name of Cai Xiang, statesman and poet, as well as reputedly one of the greatest calligraphers of the Song dynasty. For his official biography, see Tuotuo, *Songshi*, 320.10397–10401.
- 333 This is the final line of the poem “Wu River” (Wujiang) by Chen Wenhui. For the full text of this poem, see Li Gun, *Song yiyuan ji*, 2.11a–11b.

ANALYSIS AND COMPARISONS

- 1 Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 4.
- 2 For an overview of the history of Chinese traditional cartography, see Yee, "Reinterpreting Chinese Maps." For an account of some of the forces that caused distortions in the representation of individual cities in imperial era maps, see Bangpo Hu, "Cultural Images."
- 3 The same point is made by Yinong Xu, *The Chinese City*, 95–97.
- 4 Yang Bojun, *Mengzi yizhu*, 10 ["Liang Huiwang shang"].
- 5 This reflects a change in the concept of the role of the city that took place at this time and the increasing segregation of different functions, in particular the division between the administrative center and the residential-commercial areas; see Lewis, *The Construction of Space*, 150–153.
- 6 In *Record of the Lands of Wu*, this gate is said to have been constructed by Lord Chunshen and hence should not be considered one of the original gates to the city. Furthermore, the persistent tradition that Lord Chunshen had to build it to deal with the Yue suggests that other accounts of local resistance to his rule are probably quite correct. This tradition is also mentioned in Gong Mingzhi, *Zhongwu jiwén*, 1.29.
- 7 Zhou Shengchun, *Wu Yue chunqiu jijiao huikao*, 40 ["Helü neizhuan"].
- 8 Ibid., 39–40 ["Helü neizhuan"]. It should be noted that the suggestion here, that no gates were built on the east side of the city, is negated by *Tales of the Lands of Wu*.
- 9 Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 78.2394–2395, n. 3.
- 10 For example, in the late imperial era, a number of gazetteers would record that the canal that debouched on the Yangzi River at Shen'gang, the town where Prince Jizha of Wu was buried, was originally built by order of Lord Chunshen. See Liu Guangsheng and Tang Haozheng, *Chongxiu Changzhou fu zhi*, 2.55a.
- 11 See Suzhoushi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui bianhongshi et al., *Suzhou gucheng dituji*, 19.
- 12 Yu Shengfang, "Woguo gudai chengshi guihua de yige jiezuo," 16; and Stewart Johnston, "The Ancient City of Suzhou," 203.
- 13 For suggestions on which areas of the city were covered by zoning regulations for residential wards in Tang-Song Suzhou, see Yinong Xu, *The Chinese City*, 132.
- 14 Fan Chengda, *Wujun zhi*, 6.73.
- 15 Yinong Xu, *The Chinese City*, 133.
- 16 Kong Yingda, *Maoshi zhengyi*, 229–240 ["Ding zhi fangzhong"].
- 17 See Wheatley, *The Pivot*, 443, for an illustration showing the stars of Ursa Major and Ursa Minor superimposed on a map of Chang'an, demonstrating that there is no particular correlation between the constellations and the city plan.
- 18 For a detailed discussion of the nomenclature and possible locations of the capitals of the kingdom of Wu during its recorded history, see Xie Chen, *Gouwu shi xinkao*, 57–69.
- 19 *Tales of the Lands of Wu* mentions King Helü's Palace (Helü Gong), which was located somewhere inside the city walls. In addition to that, the East Palace (Dong

- Gong) and the West Palace (Xi Gong) are both mentioned, but it is not clear when they were constructed. The same is true of the Peach Summer Palace (Taoxia Gong), though this building was certainly in existence when Suzhou was the residence of Lord Chunshen of Chu, making it highly unlikely that this was a Wu structure that had survived the sack of the capital some two and a half centuries earlier. The suggestive name Nanyue Palace (Nanyue Gong) would argue that it was built after the conquest of Wu by King Goujian of Yue. The construction of the New Palace (Xin Gong) is attributed to Lord Chunshen's son as his viceregal residence.
- 20 In this, the kings of Wu may be said to resemble their earlier counterparts, the kings of the Shang dynasty, who were also characterized by a high degree of mobility, due to the demand for their presence in battle, hunting (which often qualified as training for battle), sacrifices, and tours of general inspection. Keightley, *The Ancestral Landscape*, 55–79.
- 21 The importance of defensive structures in Wu city planning is stressed in Chen Jun, “Shilun Wuguo chengzhi.”
- 22 This point is also made in Lewis, *The Construction of Space*, 151–152.
- 23 “Record of Artificers” is unrelated to the other chapters of this text. The *Rites of Zhou* as a whole is said to have come to light in the Han dynasty, when a man named Li presented it to Liu De, King Xian of Hejian (r. 155–129 BCE). At this stage, the “Winter Officials” (Dongguan) chapter was already missing. Despite the offer of a reward, no copy of it was discovered. Therefore, “Record of Artificers” (at that time an independent text) was substituted for the missing section; see Bolz, “Chou li,” 26.
- 24 Zheng Xuan and Jia Gongyan, *Zhouli zhushu*, 1344–1345 [“Jiangren”].
- 25 Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, 49.2288, contains a similar discussion of the practical considerations involved when selecting the site for a new city. Chao Cuo (200–154 BCE) argues for surveying the proposed location, tasting the waters, examining the soil, and observing the vegetation. For a discussion of Han dynasty accounts of urban planning, see Yinong Xu, *The Chinese City*, 41.
- 26 This somewhat garbled statement has traditionally been interpreted as meaning that there were three main roads running north-south and three running east-west, connecting the opposite gates. Each road consisted of three lanes, and each lane was wide enough to permit the passage of a carriage. From this, some commentators have been led into substantial flights of fancy; for example, according to Jia Gongyan's commentary, the right-hand lane was for men, the middle lane for wheeled traffic, and the left-hand lane for women. The theory that a city should be bisected by regular highways in this way was popularized by the illustration of the royal city made by the Song dynasty scholar Nie Chongyi in *Three Ritual Classics, Illustrated, with Collected Commentary* (Sanli tu jizhu), which was to prove far more influential than the original text. For a comparison of Nie Chongyi's extremely popular illustration with fifteenth- and eighteenth-century variants, see Yinong Xu, *The Chinese City*, 34–35.
- 27 From the time of the Zheng Xuan commentary, this section has been interpreted as referring to the layout of the central palace area. The court (*chao*) is thought to refer to the area in which the king met his ministers rather than his own private quarters. He Yeju, *Kaogong ji yingguo zhidu yanjiu*, 24.

- 28 Numerous commentators have remarked on the problematic nature of this line, and some have argued that the text is corrupt at this point; various highly ingenious explanations have been offered on how to interpret this part of the text. In addition to the problems of the dimensions recorded, a further issue has been the arrangement of the five rooms. Zheng Xuan's commentary suggests that these rooms should be regarded as representing the five elements (*wu xing*) and hence should be understood as having been laid out in a cross (+).
- 29 For some reason that appears not to be fully explained at any point, Zheng Xuan argues that this means there were three steps leading up to the hall on the south side of the building and two steps on the other three sides.
- 30 A truly vast literature survives on the issue of the Zhou Hall of Light (*Mingtang*), not least thanks to the efforts of subsequent dynasties to re-create this hallowed structure according to the extremely cursory description given in this and other canonical texts. For a discussion of the development of the Hall of Light, see Hwang, *Ming-Tang*; and Lewis, *The Construction of Space*, 260–273. Most subsequent suggestions about the internal arrangements of this building revolve around the idea that it represents in concrete form the smallest of the magic squares, also known as the Luo River Diagram (*Luoshu*).
- 31 Zheng Xuan and Jia Gongyan, *Zhouli zhushu*, 1345–1354 [“Jiangren”].
- 32 There is extensive commentary on this point in all traditional commentaries on the *Rites of Zhou*; see, for example, Sun Yirang, *Zhouli zhengyi*, 3471–3478 [“Jiangren”].
- 33 Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 11 [Yin 1].
- 34 Suzhou was far from being unique in this regard. For example, until the efforts of Emperor Hui of the Han dynasty (r. 195–188 BCE)—under the guidance of his tutor Shusun Tong—to make Chang'an conform to the principles described in “Record of Artificers,” the Han capital also did not accord with this ideal city plan. Lewis, *The Construction of Space*, 177.
- 35 Gong Mingzhi (*Zhongwu jiwen*, 3.58) does mention a supposed suburban tower dating to the time of the kings of Wu, where Zhou-style sacrifices were said to have been performed, aping the Son of Heaven. This account also states that the ruins were still to be seen in the Southern Song dynasty. While there may very well have been ancient remains at this site, it is highly unlikely that they were what the author claims.
- 36 Xiao Menglong, “Wuguo de sanci qiandu shitan,” 28–30.
- 37 Xie Chen, *Gouwu shi xinkao*, 59–61.
- 38 Yinong Xu, *The Chinese City*, 43.
- 39 Liang Baiquan, *Wu Yue wenhua*, 46, plate 44. For a discussion of the history of this particular snail city and the suggestion that it was at one time a capital city of the kingdom of Wu, see Xiao Menglong, “Yancheng Wu du kao.” For accounts of archaeological excavations at this site, see, for example, Zhao Yuquan, “Wujinxian Yancheng yizhi chutu Chunqiu wenwu”; and Ni Zhenkui, “Yancheng chutu de tongqi.”
- 40 Wuxi is conventionally represented as a snail city in early maps of the city; see, for example, the map included in the 1689 gazetteer. This map is reproduced without comment in Xia Gangcao, “Wuxi gucheng suoyi,” 90.
- 41 This example of a snail city has been the subject of some research in China since the

- 1970s. Dao Duy Anh, *Yuenan gudai shi*, provides the first readily available account in Chinese of Vietnamese research on this subject. For a discussion of both Chinese and Vietnamese records on this city and an overview of recent research, see Tan Shengmin, “Ouluo gudu de nanqian.”
- 42 Wu Chunming, “Honghe xiayou shiqianshi yu Luoyue wenhua de fazhan,” 198. Ban Chiang, first discovered in 1966, is now a UNESCO World Heritage site.
- 43 Gao Deji, *Pingjiang jishi*, 146.
- 44 Yinong Xu, *The Chinese City*, 213–217.
- 45 A number of late Ming dynasty gazetteers developed Zhu Changwen’s work and contain enormously detailed accounts of the flora and fauna of Suzhou and the surrounding region. They list twenty-nine varieties of rice (glutinous and nonglutinous), six of wheat, and six of beans. There were eleven varieties of tangerine, twelve types of plum, six kinds of melon, and nine other kinds of fruit. There are also additional lists of other kinds of trees and bamboo. They describe twenty-one varieties of fish and four kinds of crustaceans, as well as four types of bird. See Marmé, *Suzhou*, 21–23. In some respects, these lists are more comprehensive than those of Zhu Changwen in the Northern Song dynasty, but he seems to have been better informed about birds (he specifies ten) and crustaceans (he names eight).
- 46 Milburn, *Cherishing Antiquity*.
- 47 Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 6.260–262. For a translation of this text, see Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe’s Records*, 152–153.
- 48 Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 66.2180. There is a very cryptic reference to the worship of Wu Zixu in *Tales of the Lands of Wu* that appears to have been derived from a now-lost description of this shrine; for a discussion, see Zhang Zongxiang, *Yuejue shu jiaozhu*, 2.7a.
- 49 Ouyang Feiyun, “Duanwu wuri kao.” The most important developments in the legends of Wu Zixu as a water deity are discussed in Yuan Ke, *Zhongguo shenhua shi*, 178.
- 50 Supposedly, the emperor’s men prayed to Wu Zixu at a temple dedicated to this deity located on Dongting Dongshan island in Lake Tai, a foundation dated to 628. The emperor subsequently honored Wu Zixu with the title Loyal and Martial, Heroic and Illustrious, Manifest in Sagacity, Peaceful and Blessed King (Zhongwu yinglie xiansheng anfu wang). For a history of this particular foundation, now known as Xuanyuan Temple, see Wu Jingyu, *Dongshan*, 72–78.
- 51 In addition, a couple of Liang dynasty temples not mentioned in these early gazetteers are known to be extant today. These include Source of Spiritual Illumination Temple (Lingyuansi), founded in 502, and Protecting the Sage Temple (Baoshengsi), founded in 503; see Guojia wenwu ju, *Guojia wenwu ditu ji*, 417–418.
- 52 Yang Dongming’s work is extensively discussed and illustrations for it reproduced in Des Forges, *Cultural Centrality*, 35–55. The thirteen illustrations (all drawn by Yang Dongming and based on his eyewitness experiences) are of great interest; although he was obviously not a trained artist, they convey a very powerful impression. Of particular interest to anyone interested in the history of banditry in China is the final illustration, depicting the homes of the wealthy being stormed by ragged criminals armed with a makeshift battering ram.
- 53 Virtually no research appears to have been done on the history of criminality and

- banditry in premodern China, but a rare and ground-breaking article on this subject with some coverage of the Jiangnan region is Wang Rigen and Cao Bin, “Ming-Qing shiqi jianghe daozei de jiben lai yuan tansuo.”
- 54 For an overview of the situation with regard to salt smuggling and related illegal activities in the late Tang dynasty, see Zhou Jin, “Tangdai houqi siyan zhili cuoshi”; the problems of managing the salt monopoly during the Song dynasty are discussed in Shi Jigang and Yu Ming, “Lun Songdai siyan de shichang gonggei.” For an extensive discussion of salt production in the region during the Song and Yuan dynasties, see Yoshida, *Salt Production Techniques*.
- 55 Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 1546 [Ding 4].
- 56 Fan Chengda, *Wujun zhi*, 23.346, 21.322. On a somewhat happier note, Gong Mingzhi, *Zhongwu jiwen*, 5.95, records a poem written by a local bandit chief, Bao Chen, which was inscribed in a temple just outside the Heavenly Gate to Suzhou.
- 57 Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, 84.2795.
- 58 Fan Chengda, *Wujun zhi*, 27.399.
- 59 Wang Ao et al., *Gusu zhi*, 36.1a.
- 60 Ibid., 36.1a–11a. This list is closely related to that found in Fan Chengda, *Wujun zhi*, 50.659–673.
- 61 Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 7.296.
- 62 These events are accorded one line in Fang Xuanling, *Jinshu*, 10.250. For a more extensive account, see Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, 109.3453–3454. The position of Wang Gong (older brother of Wang Fahui [360–380], the wife of Emperor Xiaowu of the Jin dynasty) is interesting, as he would consistently claim that his uprising was motivated out of loyalty to the Jin dynasty; indeed when Huan Xuan forced Emperor An to abdicate a few years later, Wang Gong would be posthumously honored with the position of grand guardian (*taibao*) and the title Loyal and Simple (Zhongjian). For his official biography, see Fang Xuanling, *Jinshu*, 84.2183–2187.
- 63 For the biography of Huan Xuan, a member of the ruling house of the Jin dynasty on his mother’s side (Princess Sima Xingnan, daughter of Emperor Ming), and his short-lived dynasty, see Fang Xuanling, *Jinshu*, 99.2585–2604.
- 64 Ibid., 99.2586.
- 65 For the official biography of Wang Jingze, see Xiao Zixian, *Nan Qishu*, 26.479–488.
- 66 For the official biography of Zhang Gui, see *ibid.*, 24.453–455. It can be constructive to compare this biography with the quite different account given in Wang Ao et al., *Gusu zhi*, 36.14b.
- 67 Yuan Junzheng was a scion of the Yuan family of Chen Commandery, one of the most important aristocratic families at the Liang court. His son, Yuan Xian (529–598), married into the imperial house, becoming the husband of Crown Prince Xiao Gang’s daughter. He would have a distinguished official career during the Chen dynasty; see Yao Silian, *Chenshu*, 24.311–314.
- 68 The precise identity of this individual is unknown, but he is referred to as the “Puppet Prefect of Wu Commandery” in *ibid.*, 27.410.
- 69 The account of Hou Jing’s activities in Wu Commandery is derived from his official biography, in *ibid.*, 56.833–864.

- 70 Xiao Huan received no official biography in any dynastic history; however, his short-lived rebellion is mentioned in Wei Zheng, *Suishu*, 74.1695. The history of the Western Liang dynasty has been very little studied, which makes Xu Chaodong, *Xi-Liang zhengquan yanjiu*, a particularly valuable introduction.
- 71 For the biography of Yuwen Shu, one of the most important and powerful of all the Sui military leaders, see Wei Zheng, *Suishu*, 61.1463–1467. For a discussion of this key figure in the history of the dynasty, see Graff, “Li Jing’s Antecedents.”
- 72 Yan Rong, another important Sui era general, is given a biography in the official history of the dynasty, in the category of cruel officials; see Wei Zheng, *Suishu*, 74.1694–1696.
- 73 Li Huan was a junior member of the Tang royal family. In spite of his disastrous handling of these events, he receives a generally positive account in the official histories of the Tang dynasty. See Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, 112.3342–3343; and Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, 80.3568–3569. Both biographies stress the fact that he died in office during a period of considerable difficulty and gloss over the suggestion that his personal conduct left anything to be desired.
- 74 His actual words were “To occupy an honored position and take generous emoluments and then run away at the first hint of danger is not loyal. With the troops and provisions of dozens of prefectures, and the fastnesses of the Three Rivers and Five Lakes, to abandon them without firing even a single arrow is cowardly. If you have failed in both loyalty and bravery, how can you serve your ruler?” See Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, 221.7100. An abridged version of these comments is quoted in Fan Chengda, *Wujun zhi*, 50.667.
- 75 These events are not mentioned in the dynastic history, but they are recorded in a number of regional gazetteers and in Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, 222.7103–7104.
- 76 For the official biography of Li Qi, see Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, 112.3341–3342; see also Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, 224A.6381–6384. It is worth noting that while the *Old History of the Tang Dynasty* gives Li Qi’s biography with those of other members of the royal house, the *New History of the Tang Dynasty* places him with other rebels in the chapter “Traitorous Subjects” (Panchen).
- 77 For Du Jian’s official biography, see Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, 146.3969; see also Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, 172.5204–5205. The precise details of his plea to the authorities do not appear in either of these texts, but they are included in Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, 236.7624.
- 78 These events are described in some detail in Zhou Bao’s official biography in Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, 186.5415–5418.
- 79 Ibid., 186.5416.
- 80 Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Wudai shi*, 67.837; and Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian*, 258.8386.

CONCLUSION

- 1 Gu Xuejie, *Bai Juyi ji*, 550.

Glossary

An County 安縣

Anliu 安流

“Anshu” 案書

Bai Juyi 白居易

“Bai sheren Cao changji xinshi you
youyan zhi sheng. Yin yi chouxi” 白
舍人曹長寄新詩有游宴之盛. 因以
酬戲

Bai Yue 百越

“Baisongyichan” 百宋一廬

“Baiyun quan” 白雲泉

Bajun tujing 巴郡圖經

Bao Chen 寶臣

bao Wuhu 包五湖

Baopuzi 抱朴子

“Baoshan ci” 包山祠

Baosheng Temple 保聖寺

Bawang zhi zhan 八王之戰

bei gu 北顧

“Beichan bishu lianju” 北禪避暑聯句

(Mount) Beigu 北固山

beijie 碑碣

Bi Xian 畢誠

Biancheng 卞城

Bianduan 辨端

Bianliang 卞梁

“Bianwen” 辨問

bingshi (military matters) 兵事

bingshi (icehouses) 冰室

bingyi 兵役

Bo Pi 伯翳

Bo Taizi Fuchai 波太子夫差

Bo Taizi zi Fuchai 波太子子夫差

Cai 蔡

Cai Jing 蔡京

Cai Lindi 蔡林娣

Cai Xiang 蔡襄

cangchu 倉儲

Canglang ting 滄浪亭

“Canglang ting ji” 滄浪亭記

cangwu 倉務

Cao Gongwang 曹恭王

Cao Rong 曹溶

chai lu 柴路

Chajing 茶經

Chang Anmin 常安民

Changcheng County 長城縣

changdi 常棣

Changshu County 常熟縣

“Changshuxian Huirisi xiuzao ji” 常熟縣
慧日寺修造記

Changzhou 常州

chao 朝

Chao 巢

Chao Cuo 晁錯

Chao Gongwu 晁公武

Chaocui 巢翠

Chashuo 茶說

chen 辰

Chen Commandery 陳郡

Chen Fan 陳蕃

Chen Gongliang 陳公亮

Chen Houzhu 陳後主
 Chen Shubao 陳叔寶
 Chen Zhensun 陳振孫
 Chenshu 陳書
 “Chengshang yeyan” 城上夜宴
 chengyi 城邑
 Chiwu 赤烏
 Chiyi Zipi 鴟夷子皮
 “Chou Mengde cao qiuye dui yue jian ji”
 酬夢得早秋夜對月見寄
 Chu, Crown Prince Han of 太子悍
 Chu, Crown Prince Wan of 楚太子完
 Chu, Emperor Wudao of 楚武悼帝
 Chu, King Ai of 楚哀王
 Chu, King Fuchu of 楚負芻王
 Chu, King Kaolie of 楚考烈王
 Chu, King Ping of 楚平王
 Chu, King Qingxiang of 楚頃襄王
 Chu, King Xiang of 楚襄王
 Chu, King You of 楚幽王
 Chu, King Zhao of 楚昭王
 “Chu Kaoliewang wuzi” 楚考烈王無子
 “Chu ru Taihu” 初入太湖
 “Chuandu ji” 川瀆記
 “Chuanshilou” 傳是樓
 Chuci 楚辭
 “Chun wan you Taihegong” 春晚遊太
 和宮
 Chunqiu 春秋
 Chunqiu tongzhi 春秋通志
 Chunshen, Lord 春申君
 Chunxi 淳熙
 “Ci congxiang Cheqi” 賜從兄車騎

 da 大
 “Da Han Chiguo shu” 答韓持國書
 “Da Pei Ruhui” 答裴如晦
 Dai Bo 戴勃
 “Dai Wuling Xie Xun qiu wei zhu Sun zhi
 shou zhong ren biao” 代吳令謝詢求
 爲諸孫置守塚人表
 Damo 大末
 Dan Wang 但望
 Danqian zalu 丹鉛雜錄

Dantu County 丹徒縣
 Danyang Commandery 丹陽郡
 daozei 盜賊
 Daye zaji 大業雜記
 Dayue luoping 大越羅平
 “Deng Changmen xianwang” 登闔門閑望
 “Deng Chongxuansi ge” 登重玄寺閣
 “Deng Huijusi shangfang” 登慧聚寺上方
 “Deng Yufeng” 登玉峰
 Di Renjie 狄仁傑
 difangzhi 地方志
 diji 地記
 Diku 帝轡
 “Dili lei” 地里類
 dili shu 地理書
 “Dili zhi” 地理志
 Ding Jingong tanlu 丁晉公談錄
 Ding Wei ji 丁謂集
 “Ding zhi fangzhong” 定之方中
 dong 東
 Dong Gong 東宮
 Dong Lan 董覽
 Dong Zhuo 董卓
 Dong'an Commandery 東安郡
 Dongbu 東部
 “Dongcheng gui sanshou” 東城桂三首
 “Dongguan” 冬官
 Dongguan Hanji 東觀漢記
 Donghai 東海
 Dongjing menghua lu 東京夢華錄
 Dongou 東甌
 Dongting Dongshan 洞庭東山
 Dou 斗
 Du Fu 杜甫
 Du Fuwei 杜伏威
 Du Jian 杜兼
 “Du Qiuniang shi” 杜秋娘詩
 Duanwu 端午

 erbai 二百

 Fan 范
 Fan Chengda 范成大
 Fan Chunren 范純仁

Fan Chuo 樊綽
 Fan Fu 范馥
 Fan Fujun 范府君
 Fan Pang 范滂
 Fan Weicheng 樊維城
 Fan Wenzheng 范文正
 “Fan Wenzhengong yitian ji” 范文正公
 義田記
 Fan Yong 范壻
 Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹
 fang 坊
 Fang Guan 房琯
 fangshi 坊市
 fangyuan zhi kou sanqian 方圓之口三千
 fanli 凡例
 Fayin Temple 法音寺
 Fei River 淝水
 feng (embankment) 封
 feng (wild rice) 葑
 Feng Huan 馮歡
 Feng Nuan 馮援
 Feng Tong¹ 逢同
 Feng Tong² 馮同
 “Fengchou Wei Suzhou shijun” 奉酬韋蘇
 州使君
 “Fengqiao yebo” 楓橋夜泊
 fengsu 風俗
 fengyu 封域
 fenye 分野
 Fu Gongshi 輔公祐
 Fu Tong 扶同
 “Fuchai neizhuan” 夫差內傳
 Fucheng 涪城
 Fuchun County 富春縣
 “Fuli xiansheng zhuan” 甫里先生傳
 fushui 賦稅
 Fuyang County 富陽縣
 fuzhi 府志

 Gan 干
 Gan Jiangmen 干將門
 Gao Deji 高德基
 ge 格
 Ge Hong 葛洪

geng 更
 Geng 庚
 Gengshi 更始
 Gong dafu 公大夫
 Gong Dafu (Grand Master of Tribute) 貢
 大夫
 Gong Mingzhi 龔明之
 gongcheng 宮城
 gongguan 宮觀
 gongshu 公署
 Gongyuan lu 公園路
 “Goujian guiguo waizhuan” 勾踐歸國
 外傳
 “Goujian ru chen waizhuan” 勾踐入臣
 外傳
 “Goujian yinmou waizhuan” 勾踐陰謀
 外傳
 Gouwu 勾吳
 gu (in antiquity) 古
 Gu 顧
 Gu Changsheng 顧長生
 Gu Licheng 顧立誠
 Gu Rong 顧榮
 Gu Tingyu 顧聽玉
 Gu Wei 顧微
 “Gu xuande langshou dalisi cheng Pigong
 muzhiming” 故宣德郎守大理寺丞皮
 公墓誌銘
 Gu Yi 顧夷
 Guangling 廣陵
 Guanglingjun tujing 廣陵郡圖經
 Guangya 廣雅
 guanjin qiaoliang 關津橋梁
 Guanxiu 貫休
 gui 檣
 Guilin fengtu ji 桂林風土記
 Guisi 癸巳
 guizhu 桂竹
 guji 古蹟
 Gujing ji 古鏡記
 Guliang zhuan 穀梁傳
 Guluocheng 古螺城
 Gusu 姑蘇
 Gusu zhi 姑蘇志

Guwuxuan chubanshe 古吳軒出版社

Guxu 姑胥

hai 海

haidao 海道

Haiyan County 海鹽縣

Haiyang County 海陽縣

Haiyu County 海虞縣

Han 漢

Han, Emperor Gaozu of 漢高祖

Han, Emperor Guangwu of 漢光武帝

Han, Emperor He of 漢和帝

Han, Emperor Huan of 漢桓帝

Han, Emperor Hui of 漢惠帝

Han, Emperor Jing of 漢景帝

Han, Emperor Ping of 漢平帝

Han, Emperor Shun of 漢順帝

Han Huang 韓晃

Han Shizhong 韓世忠

handan 菡萏

Hangzhou 杭州

Hanshu 漢書

He Chong 何充

He Fani 何法倪

“He Pei Ruhui yuzhong guo qi wangxiong
yiju” 和裴如晦雨中過其亡兄易居

“He Wu Zhongshu shiji Hannan Pei
Shangshu” 和吳中書事寄漢南裴尚書

hefang 河防

Hejian, Liu De, King Xian of 河間獻王
劉德

“Heju shu” 河渠書

Helü Dacheng 闔閭大城

“Helü neizhuan” 闔閭內傳

Hexing 禾興

Hong Mai 洪邁

hou 後

Hou Hanshu 後漢書

Hou Jing 侯景

Hou Tian 侯瑱

hu 戶

Hu Anzhi 胡安之

Hu Su 胡宿

Hu Ting 胡珽

“Hu Wuping yi mudan yi pan” 胡武平遺
牡丹一盤

Hu Zhenniang 胡貞娘

“Huai Wuzhong Feng Xiucui” 懷吳中馮
秀才

Huaiyuan 懷遠

huaiyuan yi de 懷遠以德

Huan Wen 桓溫

Huan Xuan 桓玄

Huang 黃

Huang Chao 黃巢

Huang Pilie 黃丕烈

Huang Xie 黃歇

huangcheng 皇城

Huangchi 黃池

huanggan 黃柑

Huanghua 皇華

“Huanghuang zhe hua” 皇皇者華

Huanglong 黃龍

Huangtang 黃堂

Huangwu 黃武

“Huangyi” 皇矣

Huating County 華亭縣

Huiju Temple 慧聚寺

“Huijusi shengji” 慧聚寺聖迹

“Huijusi shengji ji” 慧聚寺聖迹記

Huipu 回浦

hukou 戶口

Huqiu 虎丘

Huqiu ji 虎丘集

Huxiao Village 虎嘯村

ji 記

Ji (clan name) 姬

“Ji junqi” 記軍氣

“Ji Liang Hong muwen bing xu” 祭梁鴻
墓文并序

“Ji Wudi zhuan” 記吳地傳

Jiabu 駕部

Jiading County 嘉定縣

Jiahe 嘉禾

“Jian’ao” 簡傲

Jiancha shui ji 煎茶水記

Jianchu Temple 建初寺

Jiande County 建德縣
 Jiang 蔣
 Jiangbiao zhuan 江表傳
 Jiangdu 江都
 Jianghu Commandery 江湖郡
 Jiangmen 匠門
 “Jiangren” 匠人
 Jiangsu guji chubanshe 江蘇古籍出版社
 Jiangsu jiu fangzhi tiyao 江蘇舊方志提要
 Jiangsu shuju 江蘇書局
 Jiangyin County 江陰縣
 jiangyu 疆域
 Jianwu 建武
 jianzhu 箭竹
 Jiaozhi yiwu zhi 交趾異物志
 Jiatai Kuaiji zhi 嘉泰會稽志
 Jiaxing County 嘉興縣
 “Jice kao” 紀策考
 “Jidi zhuan” 記地傳
 Jie Zhitui 介之推
 Jiedushi 節度使
 Jigu lu 集古錄
 Jijie 集解
 Jimin tushuo 飢民圖說
 Jin, Emperor An of 晉安帝
 Jin, Emperor Cheng of 晉成帝
 Jin, Emperor Hui of 晉惠帝
 Jin, Emperor Jianwen of 晉簡文帝
 Jin, Emperor Kang of 晉康帝
 Jin, Emperor Ming of 晉明帝
 Jin, Emperor Mu of 晉穆帝
 Jin, Emperor Wu of 晉武帝
 Jin, Emperor Xiaowu of 晉孝武帝
 Jin, Emperor Yuan of 晉元帝
 Jin, Lord Ping of 晉平公
 Jin, Lord Wen of 晉文公
 Jin Julin 金菊林
 Jinfan lu 錦帆路
 jinfeng 金風
 Jing 荆
 “Jinggong yang yongshi sanren wu
 junchen zhi yi. Yanzi jian” 景公養勇
 士三人無君臣之義晏子諫
 Jinling 金陵

jinshi 金石
 Jinshu 晉書
 “Jinxin shang” 盡心上
 “Jiti Zhao Shuping Jiashuting” 寄題趙叔
 平嘉樹亭
 jiu 九
 jiu jing 舊經
 Jiu Tangshu 舊唐書
 “Jiuri yanji zuiti junlou jiancheng Zhou
 Yin er panguan” 九日宴集醉題郡樓
 兼呈周殷二判官
 juan 卷
 Judongcheng 居東城
 jun 郡
 “Junguo” 郡國
 “Junguo zhi” 郡國志
 “Junzhai duzhuo” 郡齋獨酌
 “Junzhai yuzhong yu zhu wenshi yanji”
 郡齋雨中與諸文士燕集
 Juzhang County 句章縣
 “Kaifu Yitong sansi shangzhuguo Haiyan
 Tu jiangjun muzhiming” 開府儀同三
 司上柱國海鹽屠將軍墓志銘
 Kaiyuan 開元
 Kang Senghui 康僧會
 “Kaogong ji” 考工記
 “Ke Qingyuan daoshi shi yin er jizuo” 刻
 清遠道士詩因而繼作
 kehu 客戶
 Kubu 庫部
 Kuaiji Commandery 會稽郡
 (Mount) Kuaiji 會稽山
 Kunshan County 昆山縣
 kuo 枯
 Langya 琅琊
 “Lepu ji” 樂圃記
 Li 李
 Li Bai 李白
 “Li Chao bafen xiaozhuan ge” 李潮八分
 小篆歌
 Li E 李娥
 Li Hu 李虎

Li Huan 李垺
 Li Hui 李繪
 Li Jifu 李吉甫
 Li Ke 李恪
 “Li Lou shang” 離婁上
 Li Mi 李泌
 Li Ming 李明
 Li Qi 李錡
 Li Su 李素
 Li Xizhi 李襲志
 Li Yuan 李淵
 Li Zangyong 李藏用
 Li Zitong 李子通
 Li Zong’e 李宗諤
 Lian Ding 練定
 Liang, Emperor Wu of 梁武帝
 “Liang Huiwang shang” 梁惠王上
 “Lienü” 烈女
 Liexian zhuan 列仙傳
 Liji 禮記
 Lin Fu 林慮
 Lin’an 臨安
 ling 靈
 Lingbao 靈寶
 Lingbao wufu 靈寶五符
 lingmu 陵墓
 “Lingyan Zhiji shan pusa dian ji” 靈巖智
 積善菩薩殿記
 Lingyuan Temple 靈源寺
 Linhuai 臨淮
 Liquan Temple 醴泉寺
 “Lisao” 離騷
 Liu Bi 劉裒
 Liu Gong 劉宮
 Liu Jia 劉賈
 Liu Jurong 劉巨容
 Liu Zhan 劉展
 Liu Zhao 劉昭
 liubo 六博
 Lou 婁
 Loushu 陋蜀
 Louzhu 陋燭
 Lu (clan name) 陸
 lu (forge) 爐

lu (hut) 廬
 Lu Daozhan 陸道瞻
 Lu Deng 陸澄
 Lu Guangwei 陸廣微
 Lu Ji 陸緝
 Lü Rong 呂榮
 Lu Xisheng 陸希聲
 Lu Yu 陸羽
 Luling 廬陵
 Lunheng 論衡
 Luo Chu 羅處
 luocheng 螺城
 “Luogao” 洛誥
 “Luoshu” 洛書
 Luoxingcun 落星村
 Luoxingjing 落星涇
 Luoyang Qielanji 洛陽伽藍記
 luqin 路寢
 Lüshi chunqiu 呂氏春秋
 “Luyu ge” 鱸魚歌
 “Luzhutang” 蓀竹堂

 Manshu 蠻書
 Mao 鄧
 “Maogong tan” 毛公壇
 Mei 梅
 Mei Juan 梅絹
 Mei Yaochen 梅堯臣
 Meng Wu 蒙武
 Meng Yuanlao 孟元老
 Mengzi 孟子
 menming 門名
 “Mian” 繇
 “Mian Pei Ruhui” 勉裴如晦
 Miao Changyan 苗昌言
 Ming, Emperor Hongwu of 明洪武
 mingsheng 名勝
 Mingtang 明堂
 “Mingtang wei” 明堂位
 Minyue 閩越
 Mo Ge 莫格
 Mo Xiufu 莫休符
 Mochi bian 墨池編
 Mu Tianzi zhuan 穆天子傳

“Mubu” 木部
 “Mulan houchi” 木蘭後池
 mushou 牧守

Nan Qishu 南齊書
 “Nan you jiayu” 南有嘉魚
 “Nangai” 南陔
 Nanjun gong 南郡公
Nanshi 南史
 “Nanshuangmiao ji” 南雙廟記
 Nanyuan 南園
 “Nanyuan outi” 南園偶題
 Nanyue, King Wen of 南越文王
 Nanyue Gong 南越宮
 Nie Chongyi 聶崇義
 “Niebi zhuan” 孽嬖傳
 (Mount) Niu 紐山
 nūzi 女子

 “Panchen” 叛臣
 Pei Yin 裴駙
 Pi Guangye 皮光業
 Pi Rixiu 皮日休
 Pi Ziliang 皮子良
 “Pianxu” 篇叙
 pifa 被髮
 Piling 毗陵
 Pingjiang fu 平江府
Pingjiang jishi 平江記事
 Pingjiang jun jiedu 平江軍節度
 “Pingjiang tu” 平江圖
 “Pingluan” 平亂
 pisai 辟塞

 qi 七
 Qi, Emperor Ming of 齊明帝
 Qian Chen 錢忱
 Qian Chu, King Zhongyi 忠懿王錢俶
 Qian Duanli 錢端禮
 Qian Gongfu 錢公輔
 Qian Gu 錢穀
 Qian Jingzhen 錢景臻
 Qian Liu, King Wusu 武肅王錢鏐
 qian wan 千萬

Qian Wenfeng 錢文奉
 Qian Xiangzu 錢象祖
 Qian Yuanliao, king of Guangling 廣陵
 王錢元璪
 Qianfu 乾符
Qianfu lun 潛伏論
 Qianli 千里
 Qiantang 錢唐
 qiaoliang 橋梁
 Qinghe Commandery 清河郡
 “Qiuye ji Qiu ershier yuan wai” 秋夜寄丘
 二十二員外
 Qiwang zhi luan 七王之亂
 “Qiyunlou wanwang outi shiyun
 jiancheng Feng Daiyu Zhou Yin er
 Xielü” 齊雲樓晚望偶題十韻兼呈馮
 待御周殷二協律
 Qu Huyong 屈狐庸
 Qu Yuan 屈原
 Qu'e County 曲阿縣
 “Quqie” 肱篋
 Qusitang 取斯堂

 Ren Fang 任昉
 “Ren shi” 任詩
 Rencheng 任城
 renwu 人物
 Ru'nan 如南

San Wu junguo zhi 三吳郡國志
San Wu tudi ji 三吳土地記
Sanfu huangtu 三輔黃圖
Sanguo zhi 三國志
Sanli tu jizhu 三禮圖集注
 “Sanrang wang” 三讓王
 shan 山
 shanchuan 山川
 Shangqing 上清
 “Shangshi” 傷逝
 Shanyin County 山陰縣
 “Shangyu” 賞譽
 Shangyu County 上虞縣
 “Shangzhenguan” 上真觀
Shanhai jing 山海經

shanshuizhi 山水志
 Shaoxing 紹興
 Shazhou tujing 沙州圖經
 Shazhou Yizhou dizhi 沙州伊州地志
 shen 神
 Shen Bian 沈辯
 Shen Zuobin 沈作賓
 Shen'gang 申港
 "Shennü fu xu" 神女賦序
 Shenxian zhuan 神仙傳
 shi (ten) 十
 shi (knight) 士
 Shi Bao 石苞
 Shi Su 施宿
 shi wan 十萬
 "Shidi" 釋地
 Shiguo chunqiu 十國春秋
 Shiji 史記
 "Shijian" 識鑒
 "Shijiawen foxiang ming" 釋迦文佛像銘
 Shijing 詩經
 "Shijun" 侍君
 shilao 釋佬
 shiliu gao zhang ba chi 十畧高丈八尺
 Shiming 釋名
 "Shimu" 釋木
 Shishuo xinyu 世說新語
 "Shitian" 釋天
 Shixing 使星
 shizhen 市鎮
 shizhi 事志
 Shizi lu 十梓路
 Shouchang County 壽昌縣
 Shuangta 雙塔
 "Shuer" 述而
 shui 水
 Shuijing zhu 水經注
 shuili 水利
 Shujing 書經
 Shuoyuan 說苑
 Shusun Tong 叔孫通
 shuyuan 書院
 si 巳
 sifang zhi zhi 四方之志

siguan 寺觀
 Siku quanshu 四庫全書
 Sima Dan 司馬聃
 Sima Qian 司馬遷
 Sima Rui 司馬睿
 Sima Xingnan 司馬興男
 Sima Yan 司馬晏
 Sima Yi 司馬乂
 Sima Yuanxian 司馬元顯
 Sima Yue 司馬岳
 Sima Zhen 司馬真
 Sima Zhong 司馬衷
 simiao 寺廟
 simiaozhi 寺廟志
 Siniang 四娘
 "Sishi" 司士
 sixing 四姓
 Siyu 寺吁
 siyuan 寺院
 Song, Emperor Gaozong of 宋高宗
 Song, Emperor Ningzong of 宋寧宗
 Song, Emperor Qinzong of 宋欽宗
 Song, Emperor Xiaozong of 宋孝宗
 "Song Hu Wuping" 送胡武平
 "Song Pei Ruhui zhi Wujiang" 送裴如晦
 之吳江
 "Song qike" 送荅客
 "Song ren you Wu" 送人遊吳
 "Song Suzhou Li Shijun fu jun er jueju" 送
 蘇州李使君赴郡二絕句
 Song Yu 宋玉
 Songshi 宋史
 Soushen houji 搜神後記
 (Mount) Su 蘇山
 Su Chanyu 蘇單于
 "Su huzhong" 宿湖中
 Su Shunqin 蘇舜欽
 Sue Takashi 須江隆
 Sui, Emperor Yang of 隋煬帝
 Sui (River) 睢
 Suichutang shumu 遂初堂書目
 "Suihantang santi" 歲寒堂三題
 "Suimu oushu ji Sutai jiu liao you" 歲暮偶
 書寄蘇臺舊僚友

- Suishu* 隋書
 Sun Di 孫覲
 Sun Hao 孫皓
 Sun He 孫和
 Sun Quan 孫權
 Sun Ru 孫儒
 Sun Sheng 孫盛
 Sun Wu 孫武
 Sun Xingyan 孫星衍
 Sun You 孫祐
 Sundun 孫墩
Sunzi bingfa 孫子兵法
Suoyin 索隱
 Suzhou 蘇州
 Suzhou beike bowuguan 蘇州碑刻博物館
 Suzhou bowuguan 蘇州博物館
 “Suzhou Dongtingshan Shuiyue chanyuan ji” 蘇州洞庭山水月禪院記
 “Suzhou hualong ji” 蘇州畫龍記
Suzhou tujing 蘇州圖經
 Suzhoushi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuan-hui biangongshi 蘇州市地方志編纂委員會辦公室

 Taibao 太保
 “Taibo” 太伯
 “Taibo” (chapter in *Lunyu*) 泰伯
 Taihe 太和
 Taihou 台侯
 Taimo 太末
Taiping huanyu ji 太平寰宇記
Taiping yulan 太平御覽
 Taishan Commandery 泰山郡
 Taiwei 太尉
 “Taiwei Wensu Zhenggong muzhiming” 太尉文肅鄭公墓志銘
 “Taizi zhongshe zhishi Fan Fujun muzhiming” 太子中舍致仕范府君墓誌銘
 “Tan Gong xia” 檀弓下
 Tan Yan 譚彥
 Tang, Emperor Gaozong of 唐高宗
 Tang, Emperor Gaozu of 唐高祖
 Tang, Emperor Taizong of 唐太宗

 Tang, Emperor Xianzong of 唐憲宗
 tang bo yang zhong 塘波洋中
 “Tang chongmo Wu Jizi muming” 唐重摹吳季子墓銘
 Tangdi 棠棣
Tang-Song congshu 唐宋叢書
 Tangxi 堂谿
 Tao 陶
 Taoxia Gong 桃夏宮
Tenrei banshō meigi 篆隸萬物名義
 “Ti Baoensi” 題報恩寺
 “Ti Poshan hou chanyuan” 題破山後禪院
 Tianbao 天寶
 Tianhan 天漢
 Tianping 天平
 “Tianpingshan Baiyun quan” 天平山白雲泉
 tingguan 亭館
 “Tong Shen Gongzi you Huqiu” 同沈恭子游虎丘
 Tonglu County 桐廬縣
 Tongxuan Temple 通玄寺
 tongzhi 通志
 Tu Guizhi 屠瓌智
 Tu Ji 屠擊
 tujing 圖經
 tukao 圖考
 Tuoba 拓跋

 “Waishi” 外史
 “Waizhuan Chunshenjun” 外傳春申君
 wang (honored) 望
 wang (king) 王
 Wang 汪
 Wang Anshi 王安石
 Wang Chong 王充
 Wang Dun 王敦
 Wang Fahui 王法慧
 Wang Fu 王符
 Wang Gang 汪綱
 Wang Gong 王恭
 Wang Gui 王珪
 Wang Jian 王翦
 Wang Jingze 王敬則

“Wang Liao shi Gongzi Guang zhuan” 王
僚使公子光傳
Wang Mang 王莽
Wang Niansun 王念孫
Wang Sengqian 王僧虔
Wang Wenshu 王溫舒
Wang Xin 王廡
Wang Yi 王逸
Wang Ying 王郢
Wang Yun 王蘊
Wang Zhu 王洙
wangji 往迹
“Wangshi Zhuozhengyuan ji” 王氏拙政
園記
“Wanyilou” 萬宜樓
“Wei Zhang Jifu Sima xuan Damingxian
zhi xu” 為張吉甫司馬撰大名縣志序
Wei Zhao 韋昭
“Weiwei foxiang ming” 維衛佛像銘
“Weizi” 微子
Wen Zhengming 文徵明
“Wenfu” 文賦
Weng Tonghe 翁同龢
Wenshu jingyao 文樞鏡要
Wenwang you sheng 文王有聲
wenya zhi yingxiong 文雅之英雄
Western Liang, Emperor Jing of 西梁靖帝
Wu 吳
Wu, Emperor Da of 吳大帝
Wu, Emperor Wen of 吳文帝
Wu, King Fuchai of 吳王夫差
Wu, King Helü of 吳王闔閭
Wu, King Liao of 吳王僚
Wu, King Qing of 吳頃王
Wu, King Shoumeng of 吳王壽夢
Wu, King Xionsui of 吳王熊遂
Wu, Lady 吳氏
Wu, Prince Fugai of 吳王子夫概
Wu, Prince Guang of 吳王子光
Wu, Prince Jizha of 吳王子季札
Wu Bing 吳芮
Wu dao 吳盜
Wu Guan 吳琯
“Wu jiang” 吳江

Wu Jungao 吳君高
Wu Ping 吳平
“Wu quxing” 吳趨行
Wu Taibo 吳太伯
“Wu Taibo zhuan” 吳太伯傳
wu xing 五行
Wu Yue chunqiu 吳越春秋
“Wu Yue chunqiu yiwen” 吳越春秋佚文
Wu Zetian 武則天
Wu Zixu 伍子胥
wuchan 物產
Wucheng County 烏程縣
Wucheng ji 吳城記
Wude 武德
Wudi ji 吳地記
Wudi zhi 吳地志
Wudongcheng 吳東城
Wudu wencui 吳都文粹
“Wudu wencui” xuji 吳都文粹續記
Wuji 吳紀
Wujun dili ji 吳郡地理記
Wujun ji 吳郡記
Wujun tujing 吳郡圖經
Wujun tujing xuji 吳郡圖經續記
Wujun zhi 吳郡志
Wujun zhushan lu 吳郡諸山錄
“Wulingwang pingzhou jianju” 武靈王平
畫間居
Wumen zongji 吳門總集
“Wuqi qu” 烏棲曲
Wushang 烏傷
Wuwang feng Taibo zhi hou yu Wu 武王
封太伯之後於吳
Wuwang Guang jian 吳王光鑑
Wuwang ke Qi Sun Wu zhong 吳王客齊
孫武冢
Wuxi 無錫
Wuxian ji 吳縣記
Wuxian tujing 吳縣圖經
Wuxing 吳興
“Wuyi ge” 五噫歌
“Wuyu” 吳語
Wu-Yue cheng 吳越城

Xi Gong 西宮
 “Xi you changchu” 隰有萋楚
 xian 縣
 “Xian you yi de” 咸有一德
 Xianbei 鮮卑
 “Xiang dongyou wushi yun” 想東遊五十韻
 Xiang Liang 項梁
 Xiang Yu 項羽
 Xiangfu zhouxian tujing 祥符州縣圖經
 “Xiangjun” 湘君
 Xiangyang 襄陽
 Xianyang 咸陽
 xianzhi 縣志
 Xiao Huan 蕭瓚
 Xiao Tong 蕭統
 “Xiao Zongbo” 小宗伯
 “Xiaowen” 小問
 xie (to irrigate) 瀉
 xie (to write) 寫
 Xie (clan name) 謝
 Xigong zai Changqiu lu 西宮在長秋路
 “Xilou duli” 西樓獨立
 Xin Gong 新宮
 Xin Tangshu 新唐書
 Xinchang County 新昌縣
 Xincheng County 新城縣
 xingong 行宮
 xingmie 興滅救絕
 “Xingming” 姓名
 “Xinxiu Taihegong ji” 新修太和宮記
 Xinyi County 信義縣
 Xiongnu 匈奴
 “Xiuwen” 修文
 “Xizeng Letian fuyan” 戲贈樂天復言
 Xizhou tujing 西州圖經
 xu (emptiness) 虛
 xu (preface) 序
 xu (wastes) 墟
 Xu 徐
 Xu Sheng 許升
 Xu Tianyou 徐天祐
 Xu Yue 徐約
 xuanju 選舉

Xuanqingshi 懸磬室
 Xuanyuan Temple 軒轅宮
 xuexiao 學校
 Xuming 胥明
 Xumu 胥母
 xun wu 遜武
 Xunfushi 巡撫使
 Xunü 須女
 Xunzi 荀子
 xuzhu 胥主

 ya 亞
 “Yaliang” 雅量
 Yan 剡
 Yan Rong 燕榮
 Yan Ying 晏嬰
 Yan Zhizhi 晏知止
 Yancheng 淹城
 “Yandu” 言毒
 Yang Dongming 楊東明
 Yang Pu 楊僕
 Yang Shangxi 楊尚希
 Yang Shen 楊慎
 Yang Weizhen 楊維禎
 Yang Xuanzhi 楊銜之
 Yang Yong 楊勇
 Yangxia 陽夏
 Yangxian 陽羨
 Yanling County 延陵縣
 Yanqiao xiatang 言橋下塘
 yanqin 燕寢
 “Yanyu” 言語
 Yanzhou tujing 嚴州圖經
 Yanzi chunqiu 晏子春秋
 Yao Wuyu 搖毋餘
 Yao Zhian 姚志安
 Ye 冶
 Ye (clan name) 葉
 Ye Qingchen 葉清臣
 Ye Wenzhuang 葉文莊
 Ye Ziyin 葉子寅
 yi (one) 一
 Yi 黝
 Yi Jian zhi 夷堅志

Yi Zhou shu 逸周書
Yijing 易經
yili 以禮
Yimao 乙卯
Yin 鄞
Ying 郢
yiwen 藝文
“*Yiwen zhi*” 藝文志
Yiwu zhi 異物志
“*Yongqingxian zhi liezhuan xuli*” 永清縣志列傳序例
you 有
“*You Beichansi*” 遊北禪寺
You Mao 尤袤
Youquan 由拳
“*Youshan*” 遊山
Youyu 由于
(Mount) *Yu* 虞山
Yu Bing 庾冰
“*Yu gong*” 禹貢
Yu Liang 庾亮
Yu Xin 庾信
yuan 元
Yuan Kang 袁康
Yuan Junzheng 袁君正
Yuan Taibo 袁太伯
Yuan Xian 袁憲
Yuan Zhen 元稹
yuandi 園第
Yuanfeng jiuyu zhi 元豐九域志
Yuanfu 元符
Yuanhe junxian tuzhi 元和郡縣圖志
Yuanyou 元祐
Yubei ting 御碑亭
yue (to speak) 曰
Yue, King Goujian of 越王勾踐
Yue, King Mi of 越縻王
Yue, King Song of 越宋王
Yue, King Yao of 越王遙
Yue, King Yunchang of 越王允常
Yuefu shi ji 樂府詩集
Yueji 越記
Yue-Jingwang 越荆王
Yuejue 越絕

Yuejue shu 越絕書
“*Yueling*” 月令
Yuelu 越錄
Yuelu 岳麓
Yueniu lu 越紐錄
Yuewang shi 越王史
Yuewang wangshi 越王王史
Yuewang Wujiang 越王無疆
“*Yuewang Wuyu waizhuan*” 越王無余外傳
“*Yueyu shang*” 越語上
“*Yueyu xia*” 越語下
Yufu ruitu 玉符瑞圖
Yugan County 餘干縣
Yuhai 玉海
Yuhang County 餘杭縣
Yuji 餘暨
“*Yuju*” 漁具
Yunmeng Marshes 雲夢澤
Yupian 玉篇
yutu 輿圖
Yuwen Shu 宇文述
Yuxuan 玉鉉
Yuyao County 餘姚縣

zaiyi 災異
zalu 雜錄
“*Zao fafu Dongting zhou zhong zuo*” 早發赴洞庭舟中作
“*Zashi*” 雜詩
“*Zazhi*” 雜志
zei 賊
“*Zeng Gu Kuang shi*” 贈顧況詩
“*Zeng Riben seng Jizhao li Tiantai shan*” 贈日本僧寂照禮天台山
“*Zeng Riben seng shi*” 贈日本僧詩
Zeng Zao 曾慥
zhai lu 柴路
Zhang 張
Zhang Bo 張搏
Zhang Gui 張瓌
Zhang Haipeng 張海鵬
Zhang Hu 章帖
Zhang Jingchao 張景超

“Zhang Shengmin xishang fu hongmei”
 張聖民席上賦紅梅
 “Zhang Shengmin xishang ting Zhang
 Lin tanqin” 張聖民席上聽張令彈琴
 Zhang Shoujie 張守節
 Zhang Ting 張瑋
 Zhang Xie 張協
 Zhang Xuecheng 章學誠
 Zhang Yu 張郁
 Zhang'an County 章安縣
 “Zhao Huiwenwang sanshi nian” 趙惠文
 王三十年
 Zhao Jiande 趙建德
 Zhao Juzhen 趙居貞
 Zhao Tuo 趙佗
 Zhao Xibian 趙希弁
 Zhao Xing 趙興
 Zhao Yin 趙陰
 Zhao Yingqi 趙嬰齊
 “Zhaohun” 招魂
 “Zhaozhen zhi bei” 招真治碑
 “Zhaozhenguan bei” 招真觀碑
 zhe 者
 Zheng Achun 鄭阿春
 Zheng Huchen 鄭虎臣
 Zheng Jian 鄭戩
 Zheng Jun 鄭君
 “Zhengjian” 正諫
 “Zhengshi” 政事
 Zhenguan 貞觀
 Zhengyi 正義
 “Zhengyue sanri xianxing” 正月三日閑行
 Zhenning 真娘
 zhi 樞
 Zhi, Marquis of 鍾侯
 “Zhi shixing” 志氏姓
 Zhifang 職方
 “Zhifangshi” 職方氏
 zhiguai 志怪
 zhiguan 職官
 zhishui 治水
 Zhizheng Kunshan junzhi 至正昆山郡志
 Zhongjian 忠簡
 zhongmu 冢墓

Zhongwu jiwen 中吳紀聞
 Zhongwu yinglie xiansheng anfu wang 忠
 武英烈顯聖安福王
 Zhongyong 仲雍
 “Zhongzai” 冢宰
 zhou 州
 Zhou, King Wen of 周文王
 Zhou Bida 周必大
 “Zhou xiansheng zhushan ji” 周先生住
 山記
 Zhouli 周禮
 Zhouling Commandery 周嶺郡
 “Zhouyu xia” 周語下
 Zhouzhai 州宅
 Zhouzhi 州志
 Zhu (clan name) 朱
 zhu (princess) 主
 Zhu Anshang 祝安上
 Zhu Changwen 朱長文
 Zhu Huan 朱桓
 Zhu Shuo 朱說
 Zhu Si 朱耜
 Zhu Wenhan 朱文翰
 zhu Wuhu 注五湖
 Zhu Yi 朱億
 Zhu Zhi 朱植
 Zhuan Zhu 專諸
 Zhuang Zhu 莊助
 Zhudaoyi 竺道壹
 zhuhu 主戶
 “Zhuihe Yan Zhenqing” 追和顏真卿
 Zhuji County 諸暨縣
 Zhupu 竹譜
 Zhushu jinian 竹書紀年
 zi 子
 “Zi Siyisi ci Lengjiasi zuo” 自思益寺次楞
 伽寺作
 “Zidao” 子道
 Zigong 子貢
 “Zilu” 子路
 zinü 子女
 Ziyi 緇衣
 zong 棕
 Zou 騶

(Mount) Zu 組山

Zuili 構李

zuo 苻

(Mount) Zuoe 崱嵎山

Bibliography

Abbreviations

AM	<i>Asia Major</i>
HJAS	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
TP	<i>T'oung Pao</i>
WW	<i>Wenwu</i>

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